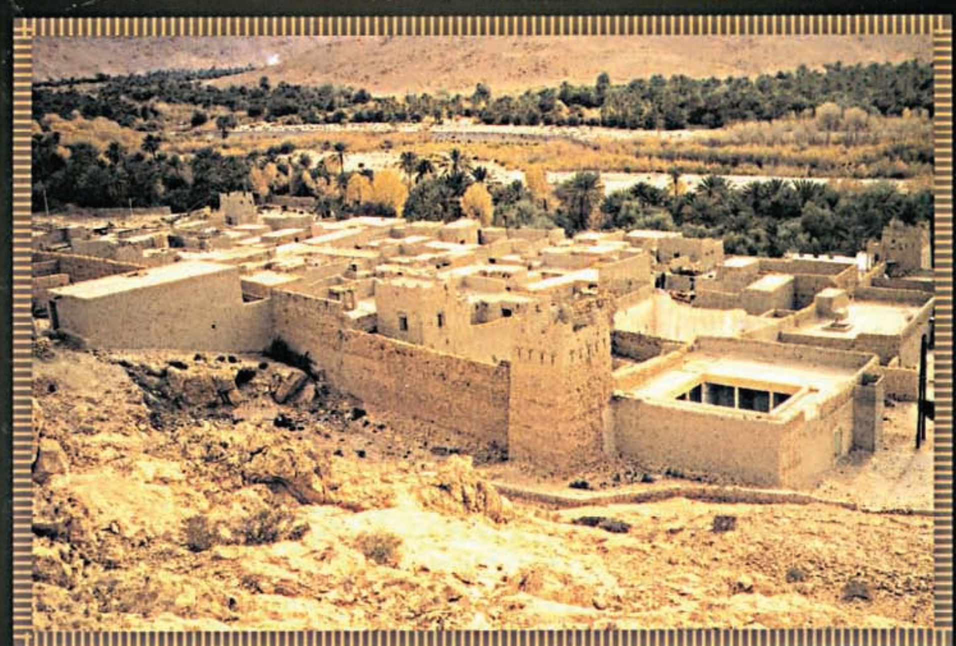
HISTORICAL DICTIONARY of the



(Imazighen) Berbers

HSAIN ILAHIANE

Historical Dictionaries of Peoples and Cultures
Jon Woronoff, Series Editor

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Historical Dictionaries of Peoples and Cultures, No. 5



The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Lanham, Maryland • Toronto • Oxford
2006

SCARECROW PRESS, INC.

Published in the United States of America
by Scarecrow Press, Inc.
A wholly owned subsidiary of
The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.scarecrowpress.com

PO Box 317
Oxford
OX2 9RU, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ilahiane, Hsain.
Historical dictionary of the Berbers (Imazighen) / Hsain Ilahiane.
p. cm. — (Historical dictionaries of peoples and cultures ; no. 5)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8108-5452-9 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8108-5452-X (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. Berbers—Dictionaries. I. Title. II. Series: Historical dictionaries of peoples and cultures ; no. 5.

DT193.5.B45I447 2006
961'.004933003—dc22

2006005071

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Manufactured in the United States of America.

To my wife and liver, Ann.

My identity, my culture, is not an administrative file
that the authority legitimizes and draws up, opens, and closes
at its convenience and with which I must comply.
Culture is the daily construction of a free society.
—Kateb Yacine (1929–1989)

Contents

Editor's Foreword

The Berbers are the remnants of the original inhabitants of North Africa, presently living in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, where they account for much of the population, and Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Mali, and Niger, where they are smaller minorities, with a notable diaspora in France. That much is known, but not much more, not even roughly how many of them there are, while their origins are still shrouded in mystery. This is not surprising, after surviving Punic, Roman, Byzantine, Vandal, Arab, Ottoman, French, Italian, and Spanish invasions and settlement and not really being tolerated by the governments of the modern states. They contributed heavily to the spread of Islam and are Muslims, but that, as well as pressures from a long succession of conquerors, has dampened their identity and constricted those using the language. Yet the Imazighen (or free men) are still there and still cling to the hopes of greater acceptance and representation.

This makes the *Historical Dictionary of the Berbers (Imazighen)* like some others in this series more significant than ordinary reference works because it has to provide information about another people whose past is less well known and whose future is less certain. This is done in several ways, not least of which is a chronology that reaches all the way back and comes up to the present. The introduction places the Imazighen in context, showing just what they are up against. And the dictionary, the foundation of the book, provides an impressive collection of entries on important persons, places, events, institutions, and aspects of culture, society, economy, and politics, past and present. Given the difficulty in finding out about the Berbers, the bibliography is a precious tool and leads to further sources of information.

This volume was written by one of the few specialists and himself an Amazigh from Morocco, Hsain Ilahiane. After studying at the Lycée in Morocco and American universities, he joined the faculty of Iowa State

University, where he is presently associate professor of anthropology. Dr. Ilahiane has written many scholarly articles on the Berbers, Arabs, and Haratine and is the author of the book *Ethnicities, Community Making, and Agrarian Change: The Political Ecology of a Moroccan Oasis*. This historical dictionary takes him much further in many directions, expanding his own horizons and also contributing to expanding those of interested readers.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Thomas Park for encouraging me to write this book and Aomar Boum and Imad Abbadi for sharing additional material and stories on the Berbers. I would also like to thank Abdellah Hammoudi and Nabil Chbouki for their interest in my work and encouragement and Jessaca Fox for tracking references. I would also like to acknowledge the interlibrary desk at Iowa State University whose work has made my task so much easier. I owe special thanks to both the series editor and the press for accommodating my delays as the tenure process shifted my attention. Most important, I acknowledge my wife, Ann, and my other family in Berber country for having patience with my endeavors.

Reader's Note

It is generally recognized that efforts at transliterating North African vernacular terms and proper names and places, whether Berber or Arabic, present a real challenge for nonnative speakers of North African languages. To make sense of these terms, I have followed the conventions of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. For Arabic and Berber, the consonant *kh* is pronounced as in *Bach* and *gh* as the French *r*. The Arabic *'ain* has been rendered with ', and the *hamza*, the glottal stop diacritical mark, with `. Place-names and common proper names with English and French spellings appear as they do in English and French and are not transliterated. Thus, ksar, not qsar or al-qasr; Qur'an, not Quran.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ALN	Armée de Libération Nationale
AMREC	Association Marocaine de la Recherche et de l'Echange Culturel
ARLA	Armée Révolutionnaire de Libération de l'Azawad
ARLN	Armée Révolutionnaire de Libération du Nord Niger
AUMA	Association des Ulémas Musulmans Algériens
CCE	Comité de Coordination et d'Exécution
CERAM	Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Amazigh
CILSS	Comité Inter-Etats pour La Lutte Contre la Sécheresse
CMA	Congrès Mondial Amazigh
CNC	Conseil National de Coordination
CNRA	Conseil National de la Révolution Algérienne
CRA	Coordination de la Résistance Armée
CRUA	Comité Révolutionnaire pour l'Unité et l'Action
ENA	Etoile Nord-Africaine
FFS	Front des Forces Socialistes
FIAA	Front Islamique Arabe de l'Azaouad
FIS	Front Islamique du Salut
FLA	Front pour la Libération de l'Azaouad
FLAA	Front de Libération de l'Aïr et de l'Azawad
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale
FLT	Front de Libération de Temust
FPLA	Front Populaire de Libération de l'Azaouad
FPLN	Front Populaire pour la Libération du Niger
FPLS	Front Patriotique de Libération du Sahara
GPRA	Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne
HCA	Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité
IFAN	Institut Français d'Afrique Noire
IHEM	Institut des hautes études Marocaines

IRCAM	Institut Royal pour la Culture Amazigh
MCB	Mouvement Culturel Berbère
MFUA	Mouvements et Fronts Unifiés de l'Azaouad
MNP	Mouvement National Populaire
MP	Mouvement Populaire
MPA	Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad
MPDC	Mouvement Populaire, Démocratique et Constitutionnel
MRA	Mouvement de Renouveau Algérien
MTLD	Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques
OAS	Organisation Armée Secrète
ORA	Organisation de la Résistance Armée
OS	Organisation spéciale
PCA	Parti Communiste Algérien
PDA	Parti Démocratique Amazigh
PJD	Parti de la Justice et Développement
PPA	Parti du Peuple Algérien
PUND	Parti pour l'Unité Nationale et la Démocratie
RCD	Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie
UD	l'Union Démocratique
UDMA	Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien
UDPS	Union pour la Démocratie et Progrès Social
UMA	Union du Maghreb Arabe
USFP	Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires

Chronology

7000–5000 B.C.	Capsian civilization; emergence of proto-Mediterranean peoples, ancestors of the Berbers.
6000–2000 B.C.	Neolithic period in the Maghreb and the Sahara.
3300 B.C.	Egyptian archeological records refer to a battle between the army of the Pharaohs and Libyans (called *tehenu*).
1274 B.C.	King Ramses II recruits Libyans to fight the Hittites.
1279–1213 B.C.	King Ramses II invites Libyans to settle near Memphis and Libyan domination of Middle Egypt.
1000 B.C.	Phoenicians acquire trading posts in Spain and establish ports of call in Sicily, North Africa, and elsewhere in the western Mediterranean.
950 B.C.	Sheshonq I, a Libyan, founds the 22nd Egyptian dynasty.
814 B.C.	Foundation of Carthage by Phoenicians escaping from Tyre with Princess Dido.
500–400 B.C.	Formation of Berber Kingdoms: Mauritania in the west, Massaessyles in the center, and Massyles in the east.
400–500 B.C.	Carthage expands into its African hinterlands.
264–241 B.C.	First Punic War with Rome; Carthaginians occupy Messina.
239–237 B.C.	Mathos and Libyans revolt against Carthage and occupy Tunis, Utica, and Bizerte.
220 B.C.	Syphax is king of the Massaessyles of Numidia.
218–202 B.C.	Second Punic War.

204 B.C.	Defeat of Syphax; Massinissa encroaches on Cirta and makes it his headquarters.
174–150 B.C.	Massinissa, king of the Massyles kingdom.
150 B.C.	Numidic-Phoenician war; defeat of Carthage in Zema.
148 B.C.	Death of Massinissa.
146 B.C.	Third Punic War; final destruction of Carthage; beginning of the Roman occupation of North Africa; foundation of Africa Proconsularis.
116 B.C.	Jugurtha, Massinissa's grandson, unites Numidia.
112–104 B.C.	Jugurthine War; Jugurtha defies the Romans; he is eventually betrayed by King Bocchus of Mauretania.
82 B.C.	Hierbas unites Numidia and is ruined by Rome.
46 B.C.	Defeat of Juba I; Rome annexes Numidia and creates the Roman province of Africa Nova.
33 B.C.	Death of King Bocchus of Mauritania.
25 B.C.	Augustus gives Mauritania to Juba II as a client kingdom.
A.D. 17–24	Revolt of Tacfarinas.
23	Death of Juba II; accession of his son Ptolemy.
40	Murder of Ptolemy by Caligula.
42	Rome creates Mauritania Tingitana in the west and Mauritania Caesariensis in the center.
45	Moor and Numidian revolts.
100	Christianity enters the Maghreb.
second century	Roman consolidation; spread of olive cultivation and road network; Africans achieve influence in Rome.
117	Lucius Quitus, a Berber, appointed to the senate and senior posts by Trajan.
125	Birth of Apuleius of Madauros.
170	Apuleius writes the *Golden Ass*; birth of Tertullian.
193	Lacius Septimius Severus from Liptis Magna becomes the first African emperor of Rome.
312	Donatist schism begins.
340	Rise of the Circumcelliones; increasing strength of Donatism.

347	Donatists and Circumcelliones unite against Roman power.
354	Birth of Saint Augustine.
372–376	Revolt of Firmus in the Kabyle Mountains, with support from Donatists.
395	Saint Augustine becomes bishop of Hippo.
396	Revolt of Firmus's brother Gildon, with Donatist support.
429	Invasion of Africa by the Vandals.
430	Saint Augustine dies during the siege of Hippo.
533	The fall of the Vandals; reconquest of Africa for the Eastern Empire by Count Belisarius; restoration of Catholic supremacy.
540	Yabdas's revolt in the Aurès.
570	Birth of Prophet Muhammad.
596	Berber uprisings against the Byzantines.
642	Arabs occupy Cyrenaica.
643	Arabs occupy Tripoli, destroy Sabratha, and invade Fezzan and Barqa.
647	Muslims defeat the Byzantine army at Sbeitla; occupation of Tripolitania.
669	\`Uqba Ibn Nafi\` seizes Tripolitania and Byzacena; foundation of the city of Qayrawan; Berber resistance by Kusayla.
683	\`Uqba's expedition to the Atlantic; he is defeated by Kusayla, a Berber leader; Arabs retreat temporarily from the Maghreb; death of \`Uqba at Tehuda (around Biskra); Kusayla occupies Qayrawan.
688	Arab counteroffensive; Kusayla dies.
695	Hassan Ibn Nu\`man invades the Maghrib, captures Carthage, but Arabs armies are defeated by Al-Kahina, Berber queen of the Aures.
701	Al-Kahina dies; end of Berber resistance; the Berbers convert to Islam.
711	Tariq Ibn Ziyad leads the conquest of Spain.
740	Emergence of Khariji beliefs and practices; development of the Ibadithe sect.

744	Barghwata establish a Berber state in Tamesna along the Atlantic coast of Morocco.
748	Salih, prophet and founder of the Barghwata kingdom, reigns.
758	Ibadithes occupy Qayrawan.
760	Fall of the Ibadithe imamate in Tripoli.
765	Ibn Rustum founds the city of Tahart, capital of the Rustumid dynasty.
768	Ibadithe uprising in Africa; Ibadithe exodus to Tahart.
776	Tahart is capital of the Ibadithes; Ibn Rustum becomes imam of the Ibadithes.
786–789	Idris Ibn `Abd Allah founds the Idrissid dynasty.
800	Aghlabid dynasty rules Tunisia.
807	Idris II founds the city of Fès.
827	Aghlabids conquer Sicily.
842	Yunnus declares the Barghwata heresy.
868	Aghlabids conquer Malta.
878	Aghlabids occupy Syracuse.
896	Aghlabids crush Berbers of Nafusa, a Rustumid stronghold in Libya.
909	Collapse of the Aghlabid and Rustumid dynasties; Tahart Ibadithes find asylum in Sadrata; foundation of an Ibadithe imamate in Jabal Nafusa, Libya.
910	Fatimids occupy North Africa; `Obeid Allah al Mahdi is recognized as caliph; he tries to convert Berbers to Shiite Islam; Berber uprisings against the Fatimids.
927	Foundation of the city of M'sila.
936	Foundation of the city of `Achir, capital of the Zirid dynasty.
960	Bulluggin Ibn Ziri founds the cities of Algiers, Medea, and Miliana.
972	Fatimids leave the Maghrib to Egypt; Zirids take over the Maghrib.
979–989	Expansion of the Zirid dynasty; Bulluggin invades the Barghwata kingdom, Fès, and Sijilmassa.
985	Collapse of the Idrissid dynasty.

990	The Empire of Ghana annexes the Saharan city of Awdaghust.
1014	Rise of the Hammadid dynasty.
1050	Banu Hilal Arabs invade the Maghrib.
1053–1069	Almoravids establish control over central Morocco.
1059	Almoravids destroy the Barghwata heresy.
1062	Almoravids found their new capital of Marrakech.
1068	Almoravids found Bijaya.
1070	Almoravids establish control over Fès.
1077–1078	Almoravids take over Tanger; fight the Empire of Ghana and control the trans-Saharan caravan trade; birth of Ibn Tumart, the Almohad Mahdi; Bijaya becomes the capital of the Hammadids dynasty.
1094	Birth of `Abd Al Mu'min at Tajra (Nedroma).
1102	Almoravids complete conquest of Islamic Spain.
1106	Death of Yusuf Ibn Tachafin.
1116	Ibn Tumart meets `Abd Al Mu'min in Mallala, Algeria, and recruits the future founder of the Almohads dynasty.
1121	Ibn Tumart is declared the Mahdi of the Almohads and fights the Almoravids.
1129	Almohads besiege Marrakech.
1130	Ibn Tumart dies, and leadership passes to `Abd Al Mu'min.
1139–1146	Almohads conquer Fès and Marrakech.
1162	Death of `Abd Al Mu'min; Abu Ya`qub Yusef becomes emir.
1172	Almohad Empire extends its control from the Atlantic to Tripolitania and from Spain to the western Sahel.
1229	Foundation of the Hafsids dynasty with Tunis as its capital.
1235	Rise of the `Abd Al Wadids dynasty in Tlemcen, then in central North Africa.
1248	Marinid dynasty establishes control in western Maghrib and takes over Fès and Marrakech.

1269	Collapse of the Almohads dynasty.
1276	Marinids build Fès Al Jdid.
1350	Ibn Battuta, Berber explorer, visits the Empire of Mali.
1370	Marinids establish control over Tlemcen.
1374	Marinids divided into Fès and Marrakech kingdoms.
1415–1514	Portuguese occupy Ceuta (1415), Tanger (1471), Massat (1488), Safi and Agadir (1508), Azemmour (1513), and Mazagan (1514).
1492	Christians occupy Granada, and Muslims flee to North Africa.
1494	Collapse of the Hafsid dynasty.
1497	Spain occupies Melilla, Mers El Kebir, Oran, Peñon d'Alger, Cherchell, Dellys, and Mostghanam.
1510	Leo Africanus visits Bilad Al-Sudan, spends time in Timbuktu and Gao.
1517	Ottomans occupy Tlemcen.
1517–1525	Sa`diyin establish themselves in the south and take over Marrakech, wage holy war against Christian Portugal and Spain.
1554	Ottoman Empire captures Libya.
1574	Ottomans take over Tunis.
1576	Ottomans temporarily occupy Fès but are forced to withdraw.
1578–1591	Sa`diyin invasion of Timbuktu and the northern territories of the Songhay Empire.
1580	Spain occupies Ceuta.
1609	Waves of Andalusi people escape to North Africa.
1630–1641	Dila Zawiya in the Middle Atlas reaches its height of influence and power; it is ruined by Moulay Al Rachid in 1668.
1631	The rise of the `Alawite dynasty in Tafilalt, Morocco.
1659–1669	Moulay Rachid establishes the `Alawite dynasty.
1667	Moulay Rachid destroys Illigh and its maraboutic family.

1672–1727	Sultan Moulay Isma'il builds over 76 qasbas (forts) in the Middle Atlas and staffs them with `Abid al Boukhaari (black soldiers) to secure communication routes and to watch over the dissident Berber tribes of the Middle Atlas.
1674	Middle Atlas Sanhaja tribes overthrow the agents of Sultan Moulay Isma`il and refused submission of tax payments.
1811–1822	Berber revolt during which Middle Atlas Sanhaja tribes rise against Sultan Moulay Sliman's (1792–1822) proscription of the cult of saints and endorsement of puritan Wahhabi doctrines.
1814	Treaty of Paris establishes French sovereignty over Senegal and Mauritania.
1830	France begins its colonization of Algeria.
1835	Rise of the Sanusi movement in Libya.
1842	Sanusi order founds its first *zawiyas* in Cyrenaica.
1853	Heinrich Barth, German explorer, visits Timbuktu.
1857	French conquest of the Kabyle.
1858–1860	Kabyle uprisings.
1859	Aures uprising.
1860	Hodna uprising.
1863–1904	French rule and conquest establish French Sudan.
1871	Al Mokrani uprising.
1876	Al `Amri revolt.
1881	Establishment of a French protectorate in Tunisia.
1881–1883	Bou`mama rebellion in southern Oran.
1902	Sanusi revolt is crushed by the French.
1912	Establishment of a French protectorate in Morocco; Spain controls most of northern and southern Morocco; Libya becomes an Italian protectorate.
1914	Moha Ou Hammou uprising against the French, winning the battle of Lehri in the Middle Atlas.
1915	Battle of Qasr Bu Hadi; Idris becomes leader of the Sanusi order.
1916	Tuareg rebels led by Kaocen occupy Agadez.
1921–1926	`Abdelkarim al-Khattabi revolt in the Rif, northern Morocco.

1922	Establishment of the Colonie du Niger; the Citroën trans-Saharan adventure arrives in Bourem, Mali.
1926	Foundation of Etoile Nord Africaine (ENA).
1930	Berber Dahir.
1933	Aït Atta resist the French in the Sahara and the Anti-Atlas; battle of Bougafer.
1937	Foundation of the Parti du Peuple Algérien (PPA).
1940	Emergence of Algerian nationalism; foundation of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) in Dakar, Senegal.
1945	Massacres of Algerians following nationalist uprisings at Kherrata, Setif, Guelma, and Saida.
1949	Berberist crisis; Kabyle leaders call for a secular and multicultural Algerian society (an *Algérie Algérienne*); opposition to an Arab-Islamic basis for Algeria.
1951	Libyan independence, 24 December.
1954	Beginning of the Algerian war for national liberation; formation of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) in a breakaway from the PPA.
1956	Moroccan independence, 2 March; Tunisian independence, 20 March; first congress of the FLN in the Soummam Valley, Kabylia, 20 August.
1956–1957	`Addi Ou Bihi revolt in Tafilalt.
1958–1959	Rif uprising is repressed.
1959	Foundation of the Movement Populaire (MP) by Mahjoubi Ahardan.
1960	Nigerian independence, 3 August. Malian independence, 22 September. Mauritanian independence, 28 November.
1962	Algerian independence, 5 July.
1962–1963	Tuareg of Idrar Niforas in northeastern Mali rebel against the government of Mali.
1963	Foundation of the Front des Forces Socialistes party (FFS) by Hocine Aït Ahmed.
1967	Foundation of Association Marocaine de la Recherche et de l'Echange Culturel (AMREC) in Rabat; foundation of Paris-based Académie

Berbère d'Echange et de Recherches Culturels; in 1969 renamed Agraw Imazighen.

1969 Mu`ammar Gadhafi deposes the Sanusi monarchy.

1972 Second coup attempt on the king of Morocco, Hassan II; Mohamed Oufqir, a Berber general, is implicated.

1972–1974 The Sahel suffers one of the worst droughts in memory, devastating nomadic livelihood systems.

1973 Kabyle activists form Groupe d'Etudes Berbères at the University of Paris VIII-Vincennes.

1978 Establishment of Ateliers Imedyazen, an outreach and publication cooperative in Paris to debate and disseminate Berber issues; foundation of Tamaynut Association.

1980 Algerian government cancels Mouloud Mammeri's lecture at the University of Tizi-Ouzou; Kabyle protests; repression of protestors by security forces; Berber Spring (Tafsut); foundation of the Mouvement Culturel Berbère (MCB).

1980–1990 Proliferation of Berber cultural associations.

1984–1985 Drought destroys about 70 percent of Tuareg livestock.

1989 Foundation of the Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie (RCD) by Said Sadi; Libya deports Malian Tuareg; Union du Maghrib Arabe (UMA) entered into by Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia.

1990 Front Islamique du Salut (FIS) sweeps municipal and regional elections; erosion and humiliation of the FLN; Tuareg attack Tchin Tabaraden; start of Tuareg Rebellion in Niger; armed Tuareg rebels attack government in Mali and Niger; Front pour la Liberation de l'Azaoud (FLA) seeks to establish a new state in northern Mali; interior ministers of Algeria, Mali, and Niger meet in Tamanrasset to discuss armed Tuareg uprisings; presidents of Libya, Algeria, Mali, and Niger hold a summit to discuss Tuareg issues; Tuareg aim to set up a free Tuareg state.

1991	Tuareg destroy a border checkpoint, erasing border markings between Niger and Mali; Tuareg massacres; Tuareg attack In Gall; Agadir Charter calls for the recognition of the Amazigh language and culture in Morocco; two Tuareg rebel groups and the government of Mali sign a truce in Tamanrasset; concessions included the establishment of a Tuareg autonomous region and the withdrawal of the Malian army from Timbuktu and Gao; the Front Populaire de Libération de l'Azaouad (FLA) continues its attacks; Malian army retaliation increases.
1992	Tuareg rebel leaders and the government of Mali sign a truce; Mali and Algeria to repatriate Malian Tuareg and refugees.
1992–1993	Niger admits the existence of a Tuareg rebellion and calls for peace talks; continued Tuareg attacks and raids; truce between the Front de Libération de l'Aïr et de l'Azawad (FLAA) and the government of Niger.
1993	Tuareg refugees begin to return to Mali from Algeria.
1994	Massacre of Tuareg civilians by Malian armed forces; Tuareg assaults on Gao; Berber associations create an umbrella organization for the Amazigh cultural movement, Conseil National de Coordination (CNC); Tuareg rebel leaders and the government of Niger hold peace talks in Paris; Tuareg assault on government forces; members of the Goulmima-based organization, Tilleli, are arrested for showing banners written in Berber script (Tifinagh) during Labor Day march; King Hassan II calls for teaching "Berber dialects"; Moroccan television begins broadcasting a daily four-minute news bulletin in Tamazight, Tashalhiyt, and Tarifit.
1994–1995	School boycott in Kabylia.
1995	Algerian government creates the Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité (HCA) to oversee the inser-

tion of Tamazight in the education system and media; it fails to achieve its mission; peace agreement signed between the government of Niger and Tuareg groups ending the Tuareg revolt; skirmishes continue; Malian Tuareg call on the international community to help solve Mali's northern problems; continuous cycles of retaliatory killings of Tuareg civilians and Tuareg assaults; Algeria relocates Malian refuges to new camps.

1996 Moroccan law restricts the use of names for Moroccan children to approved Arabic-Muslim names and indirectly outlaws the use of Amazigh names not on the approved list.

1997 First World Amazigh Congress held in the Canary Islands (Tafira in Berber).

1998 Assassination of Matoub Lounes, Kabyle singer and activist; riots sweep Kabylia.

2000 Publication of the Amazigh Manifesto; it calls for an inclusive approach in the reorganization and restructuring of Moroccan history and culture; questions the traditional Arab-Islamic basis of Moroccan society and history.

2001 King Mohamed VI announces the foundation of the Institut Royal pour la Culture Amazigh (IRCAM); Black Spring in Kabylia; the massacre of Massinissa; protests throughout Kabylia; government forces kill scores of protestors; Kabyle tribal heads, or *`arches*, meet in the village of El-Kseur and draft the El-Kseur Platform, which calls for economic demands and official recognition of Berber language and culture.

2002 Algerian government recognizes the Berber language, Tamazight, as national (not official) language in constitutional revision.

25 January 2002 Moroccan authorities prevent the Association for the Defense of the Victims of the Spanish War from holding a conference in Al Hoceima in northern

	Morocco on the Spanish use of German-manufactured toxic gas to put down the Berber rebellion from 1921 to 1926.
2004	Institue Royal pour la Culture Amazigh (IRCAM) publishes its first teaching manual of Tamazight for primary school levels, titled *Tifawtin a tamazight* (Good Morning, Tamazight).
17 January 2005	Algerian government agrees in principle to implement the El-Kseur Platform, but details remain unsettled.
21 February 2005	Seven members of IRCAM resign in protest of the total failure of the National Education and Communications ministries to implement the directives of IRCAM.
10 June 2005	Activists and members of the Berber movement petition the government to establish the Parti Démocratique Amazigh (PDA) in Morocco.
15 August 2005	The political parties of MP, the Mouvement National Populaire (MNP), and l'Union Démocratique (UD) fuse into al-Haraka al-Sha`biyyah al-Muwahhada or Mouvement Populaire Unifié.
13 September 2005	Gaddafi Charity Foundation calls on the government of Libya to lift a 1970s ban on the registration of Amazigh names.

Introduction

Although the Berbers form sizable populations in North Africa and the Sahel, they have been reduced to a minority within their respective home states. Berbers are the ancient inhabitants of North Africa, but rarely have they formed an actual kingdom or separate nation-state. They have, however, formed dispersed communities that came under a series of foreign invaders: the Punic settlers, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Vandals, the Arabs, the Ottomans, the French, the Spanish, and the Italian colonial powers were integrated into North African societies and in large part dominated it. The Berbers influenced the culture and religion of Roman North Africa and played key roles in the spread of Islam and its culture in North Africa, Spain, and sub-Saharan Africa. In their encounter with the Arabs, the Ottomans, and the European colonial powers, they often faced adversity and still do so because of postcolonial government policies aimed at stamping out Berber identity, language, and culture.

Today, celebrating Berber contributions before and after the Arab conquest is still not entirely politically correct in North Africa. There are many reasons for this sentiment. First, there is the Islamist plan to maintain the professed unity of Islam through its sacred language, Arabic. Second, the French use of the Berbers to support their racist policies was rejected by the nationalist and Islamist movements. Third, most of the political parties on the left and the right have always been hostile to the emphasizing of ethnic and linguistic diversity. Consequently, the renaissance of Berber culture and history are stifled by the leftovers of the French colonial Berber question, the postindependence ideologies of Arabism, and the current Islamist discourses on the linguistic and cultural merits of Berberness. Taken together, these dynamics have over time converged to redefine the field of Berber identity and

its sociopolitical representations and symbols, making it an even more important issue in the new century.

The name “Berber” is of external origin and is not a Berber word. In their language, Tamazight, Berbers use the name “Imazighen” to describe themselves (singular masculine is Amazigh; singular feminine is Tamazight). The word “Berber” is derived from the Greek word *barabaroi*, Latinized *barbari*, which denoted people who spoke neither Latin nor Greek or to refer to non-Phoenicians within the Carthaginian state. Ancient Greek writers also used “Libyan” as another name to refer to the inhabitants of North Africa while also speaking of other Berbers as the Numidians, “the Nomads,” a name that reflected that most of them practiced pastoral nomadism. With the arrival of the Arab Muslims in the seventh century, the word *barbari* took an Arabized form, *al barabir* or *barabira*. Today, the Berbers use the collective designation “Imazighen” (singular is Amazigh, i.e., *free men and women*), and “Imazighen” is the word that embodies the Amazigh sense of being the real and essentially human beings of their homeland, called Tamazgha. Tamazgha is the land where Imazighen have lived since time immemorial and captures the state of being free from domination of others. “Tamazgha” and “Amazigh” are words by which indigenous peoples of North Africa contrast themselves to outsiders and foreigners during the cycles of violence and conquests that Imazighen suffered at the hands of numerous invaders from the Phoenicians through the Ottomans and Arabs to the French and Spanish, and their usage over time has intensified Berber feelings about freedom and nobility and other essential human qualities of themselves. In the words of anthropologist Edward H. Spicer (1980), they are an *enduring* people, and their enduring qualities depend on continuous possession of a homeland sustained by such constructs as ethnicity, language, and culture.

The etymology and meaning of the word “Amazigh” varies from region to region. Among the Berber-speaking communities, there is a general phonetic shift between *h* (Ahaggar), *z* (Algeria and Morocco), *ch* (Adrar and sub-Saharan areas), and *j* (Aïr), so that it is linguistically valid to see the terms “Imuhag” (Ahaggar), “Amazigh” (Algeria and Morocco), “Amajeg” (Aïr), and “Amacheg” (Adrar and sub-Saharan areas) as deriving from the Berber root *MZG*. The name “Imuhag” is used in Ahaggar to designate all those Tuareg who speak Tamahak. In Adrar and in and around the Niger Bend, the word “Ama-

heg" is used to refer to the noble Tuareg. In Aïr, the word "Amajeg" is equivalent to its broader meaning of "Imuhag" and designates any Tuareg or a noble Tuareg.

The origin of the Imazighen as well as their racial classification and language relationship with any other Mediterranean or African race, present or ancient, has long been a subject of intense debate among scholars. Just as the definition of race remains at best a contentious cultural construct, the notion that Berbers must represent descendants of some purely homogeneous cultural group originating in a particular area or site is still a matter of conjecture. Throughout time and even over the past two millennia, North Africa has absorbed a large number of successive migration flows. There is no hard evidence to indicate that things were different in the so-called obscure centuries of North African historiography and archaeology. The earliest type of Homo sapiens in North Africa is known as "Mekta Afalou," which is equivalent to Cro-Magnons in Europe. The Mekta Afalou type, associated with Capsian culture of around 7000 B.C., was earlier believed to have split off from the Cro-Magnons, moving from Asia into North Africa as Cro-Magnons moved into Europe. This claim, however, has been challenged, and an indigenous development from the Neanderthals has been suggested. Gabriel Camps (1974), for instance, has described the physical evidence as well as material culture found in the Capsian sites as "proto-Mediterranean." He also asserts, despite the scanty evidence of the archaeological record, that Berbers migrated from the eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Age, bringing with them the chamber tombs, dolmens, and pottery styles borrowed from Sicily.

Today, many scholars believe that the peopling of North Africa was infused with migrations from the east and south and across the straits from western Europe. Additionally, the linguistic evidence is thin. Berber has been, for the most part of its history, a spoken rather than a written language, although there is archaeological evidence of rock art and inscriptions in deciphered Berber script, the Tifinagh still used by the Tuareg in the central Sahara. Thousands of undeciphered Libyan inscriptions have been published claiming that the earliest Libyco-Berber inscriptions date back to the third millennium B.C. Berber has affinities to Semitic languages such as Arabic and Hebrew, but the connection to ancient Middle Eastern languages such as Ancient Egyptian or Akkadian writing systems remains to be fully investigated. The one statement

that can be made with some confidence is that the Berber languages are all extraordinarily similar, which implies that their spread through the North African and Saharan landscape was relatively identical over time. One study by David Hart (1975) on the glottochronology of three main dialects of the Berber language in Morocco, Tamazight (Tashalhiyt, Tamazight, and Dhamazight), provides a rough date for the separation of these three dialects. He suggests that Dhamazight of the Rif separated from Tamazight about 1,000 years ago, while Tamazight diverged from Tashalhiyt about 2,000 years ago. His analysis also suggests 2,900 years of divergence between Tamazight and Tashalhiyt. If Hart's claims are true, one may suppose that linguistic differences between the Tuareg, Aures, Kabylia, Jabal Nafusa, and Rif are much greater.

Although there is a strong oral tradition, the lack of a universal alphabet and a common literature has made it difficult to substantiate linguistic evidence. The first known Berber writers belong to the Roman and Byzantine cultural times and wrote in Latin or Greek. Today, much of the intellectual production of Berbers is in Arabic, French, and Spanish. The scarce literature in Berber language is of recent date: short religious works in Arabic script and a few books of didactic character. Richer is the flow of oral literature, transmitted mainly by women, and of popular poetry, some of which has been collected and documented by a number of writers and anthropologists.

Over the centuries, there have been ethnocultural symbioses with the conquerors (Phoenician, Roman, Vandal, Byzantine, Ottoman, Arab, French, and Spanish). King Massinissa of the Massyles established the first Berber state, Numidia. After his death, Numidia became a Roman client state. After Jugurtha's failure to gain Massyli's independence, Numidia became a Roman protectorate and was absorbed into the empire's provincial systems. During Roman times, the Berbers were pushed into the hinterlands. Consequently, they mounted numerous rebellions such as that of Tacfarinas (A.D. 17–29). The appearance and spread of Christianity produced dissention given the rise of Donatism. One Berber who distinguished himself during this religious dispute was the bishop of Hippo (`Annaba), Augustine. At the same time, insurrections led by Firmus (372–375) and Gildon (398) contributed to the weakening of the Romans, which hastened their fall to the Vandals. The Vandals were not as successful as the Romans in controlling Berber country. However, the Vandals recognized the fighting abilities of the

Berbers and recruited them. The Byzantines also admired the military qualities of the Berbers, but, similar to the Vandals, they found it very hard to extend their control over the entire Berber country.

Considered to be the historian of the Berbers, Ibn Khaldun, in his *History of the Berbers* (translated into French by W. Mac. Guckin De Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, Alger, 1852–1856), illustrates a very comprehensive knowledge of Berber history and appears sympathetic to their aspirations. He divided Berbers into two great branches, al-Baranis (sedentary, from the plural of "Bernous," or "cloak") and Madghis al-Abtar or al-Botr ("nomadic"). Al-Botr moved from the steppes and the highlands between the Nile and southern Tunisia into the Jabal Nafusa in Libya and into Algeria, where they settled in the areas of Tahart and Tlemcen, while others continued into Morocco, spread along the Mulwiyya and Sabu rivers and on the fringe of the Sahara. Some of the Baranis moved from the Aures and Kabylia regions into the area of Oran and further on to central Morocco and parts of the Rif. Furthermore, Ibn Khaldun distinguished three major groups among the Berbers—Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zanata—and ascribed to each a separate genealogy leading to a common ancestor. Although this dichotomy of Berber history—al-Baranis and al-Botr—is linked to his rural–urban dichotomy, it is less valuable and has probably caused much confusion in Berber scholarship. His simplified classification based in part on classic ideas appears to be misguided in stating that Berbers were relatively new settlers from the east—specifically the folktale of Goliath's migration to the Maghrib after his defeat. From a modern anthropological perspective, not only is this folk history discredited, but so also is the notion that ethnic groups in a region such as the Maghrib can be neatly classified as either sedentary or nomadic. Human adaptation in the Maghrib is far too complex and messy for such a simple and static dichotomy to explain.

The attitude of the Berbers toward the Arab advance in the seventh century was expressed in two major ways. Berber warriors fought on the side of the Arabs on their march through North Africa against the Byzantine forces. Tarif and his 400 men, the first to cross the straits into Spain, were Berbers, as were Tariq Ibn Ziyad and his force of 12,000 who overran the Visigoth capital Toledo. The main body of the army that conquered the Iberian Peninsula and pushed deep into France consisted of Berber contingents. At the time, the Arabs were soon confronted with insurrections instigated by misuse of power, high taxation,

and injustice. This resistance was illustrated in the revolts of al-Kahina and of Kusayla Ibn Lemten. More dangerous was the insurrection of a large tribal confederation under Maysara al-Matghari, which in the last days of the Umayyad led to the defection of the whole Berber country.

Inseparably connected with the political quality of this resistance is its religious dimension in the form of popular adoption of the Kharejite doctrine and practices. This heresy, viewed as revolutionary by orthodox Sunni Islam on which the caliphate sustained its political leadership, was in decline in the east, while its variants, such as the Ibadhiyyah and the Sufriyya, found fertile soil in Berber political and economic grievances in North Africa. The growing number of Berber proselytes came from among the early converts to Islam, from pagan tribes and the Christian sedentary communities. A number of heterodox Berber theocracies were established in the eighth century by the Rustumid in Tahart, by the Banu Midrar in Sijilmassa extending eastward into Jabal Nafusa in Tripolitania, by Abu Qurra in Agadir (near present-day Tlemcen), and by the Barghwata confederation on the Atlantic coast. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Almoravid dynasty's brand of rigorous orthodox Sunni Islam had forever replaced Kharijite doctrine and practices in Morocco and Algeria, except for scattered communities in North Africa. Berber Ibadithe groups have survived to the present day in Tripolitania in the Jabal Nafusa, in Tunisia on the island of Jerba and in the oases of Jarid, and in southern Algeria in the Oued Mzab, where they make up the Mozabite communities.

Longer than the temporal authority of the Arab caliphate and its version of Islam, the Berbers remained, for the most part, noncompliant to the process of Arabization. Following the establishment of al-Qayrawan as the seat of the caliph's provincial administrator in the seventh century, the rise of the Idrissids in the ninth century, coupled with the commercial and social relations with al-Andalus, Arabic spread slowly but continuously throughout the 9th and 10th centuries into most parts of North Africa. It acquired a place of prominence as the exclusive means of learning in major urban and religious centers, some of which developed into major centers of Islamic studies in North Africa (Fès, al-Qayrawan, and Tlemcen). From the 10th to the 13th century, Berbers developed dynamic dynasties in North Africa and al-Andalus, such as the Zirids (972–1152), Hammadids (1007–1152), Banu Zizi (1018–1090), Aftasids or Banu al-Aftas (1022–1095), Dhu al-Nun or

Banu Dhu al-Nun (1033–1095), and Banu Ghaaniya (1146–1237). The most famous North African dynasties were the Almoravids (1043–1147) and the Almohads (1147–1269), who distinguished themselves by their military power, territorial and political expansion, and cultural achievements. They united the Berbers of North Africa, if only for a short time. After the decline of the Almohads, other Berber dynasties established themselves in the 13th and 14th centuries, such as the Hafsids (1234–1569) in Tunisia and East Algeria, `Abd al-Wadids or Banu Zayyan (1235–1509) in Tlemcen, and Marinids (1269–1465) and Wattasids or Banu Wattas (1465–1549) in Morocco.

Although with minor variations, within the widespread Berber society, Berbers have crafted age-old social and economic institutions. They have developed a sophisticated body of customary law that has survived the Islamic period because Islam has usually accommodated the practice of customary law, or *azerf*, within its system of jurisprudence, as long as *azerf* does not deliberately violate the most fundamental principles and articles of faith of Islamic law, or *shari`a*. Customary law, known also by its Arabic name *`urf*, is not uniform among Berber groups, with the socially stratified Tuareg and the democratically oriented Berbers in North Africa exemplifying two major types of Berber political organization. The *jama`a*, or the appointed village/tribal council that functions at various levels of Berber organization, has defined much of Berber political management. Although the institution of *jama`a* tends to result in oligarchic decisions made by men, it has regulated a wide range of legal matters, including land tenure, tribal alliance formation, and social and life ceremonies. In the 19th and 20th centuries, for political reasons French colonial administrations in Algeria and Morocco accorded official recognition to Berber customary law and its dispensation in tribal and rural courts. In Morocco, nationwide opposition led to the revocation of the Berber Dahir as far as penal jurisdiction was concerned. Since the achievement of independence, the legal process embedded in the Arabization policy has, for the most part, eliminated *azerf* practices and passed it into *shari`a* structures.

Although Imazighen are unjustly considered a minority in North Africa, the area that Berber speakers inhabit is vast and testifies to the sheer size and broad spread of the Amazigh population. While official census data on the demographic characteristics and dynamics of Imazighen are sorely lacking, Amazigh scholars and activists claim that

perhaps 80 to 90 percent of the North African population remains *ethnically* Amazigh, although a large segment of this percentage has been significantly Arabized and has thereby lost its original Amazigh identity markers. Tamazgha, or the original homeland of the Berbers, stretches east to west from Siwa in the Western Desert of Egypt to the Canary Islands and north to south from the Mediterranean shores to Mauritania and the southern limits of the Niger and Senegal rivers. Small communities are located in Siwa, in the Western Desert of Egypt, and in the Fezzan region of Libya. A series of Berber-speaking villages extend from Jabal Nafusa in Libya through southeastern Tunisia to the island of Jerba, where many Berbers practice the Ibadithe sect. In Tunisia, Berber speakers constitute less than 1 percent of the population, while they make up 4 percent of the population of Libya. Larger communities are found from northern Tunisia to Morocco, especially in Kabylia, Dahra, Aurès, and Shawiya. South of the mountains lie the oases of the Mozabites, Ibadithe Berbers who live in five villages along the Oued Mzab. Further to the south of the Mozabites, the Tuareg occupy a vast area of the Sahara, from the Ahaggar to Tassili to northern Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso. The number of Tuareg varies from sources to source, and the estimates vary between 2 and 3 million. In Algeria, Berber speakers constitute about 20 percent of the Algerian population. In Morocco, Berber speakers make up about 45 to 50 percent of the population (Mohamed Chafiq estimates the number of Berber speakers in Morocco to be about 80 percent). They are found in the Rif, Middle, and High Atlas Mountains; in the Sous and Anti-Atlas; and on the fringes of the Sahara. In all, despite the fact that the exact numbers of Berber speakers in Tamazgha and in the diaspora are hard to come by because of the sensitive political nature of census taking, official as well as nonofficial estimates point to a range of between 15 and 50 million Berber speakers.

The last half of the 20th century, despite playing leading roles in the fight against colonialism and nation building of their respective nation-states, has not been kind to the aspirations of the Berbers in North Africa. Ever since independence, government policies have marginalized Berber regions, stifled and belittled Berber language and culture, and displaced and destabilized entire populations, as in the case of the Tuareg refugees. Berber political activism, whether it took the form of the Berberist crisis in Algeria or the Rif revolts or other Berber rebel-

lions in Morocco, led to repression and oppression of all things Berber. Since the uprising in Tizi Ouzou in the spring of 1980, also known as the Berber Spring, Berbers have organized and demonstrated for cultural, linguistic, and economic rights—and self-determination or regional autonomy in the case of the Tuareg. Berbers believe that they have been shortchanged by state policies of education, culture, and economic modernization. Government responses, in most cases, have been brutal and repressive and usually took the form of police crackdowns and military assaults. To complicate matters even more, the rise of political Islam and its relentless pursuit of a strict orthodox Sunni Islam in the 1980s further aggravated the situation and demands of the Berbers. Arab and Amazigh Islamists, despite North Africa's history of religious syncretism and hybridity, tend to view Berber grievances with contempt and see in the secularist Berber demands of cultural pluralism, democratization, and human rights a threat to the Islamic way of life and its vehicle the Arabic language, however that is defined.

Today, the Amazigh question remains a sensitive cultural and political issue in North Africa because it is explicitly connected to a range of contested ideas about language, place, and religion—or politics of identity boundaries. In the first years of the 21st century, to circumvent Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights and identity claims, North African governments have made hesitant efforts to at least start the discussion of the remote possibility of considering Tamazight an official and equal language to its sister, Arabic, in their constitutions. While Tamasheq, the language of the Tuareg, is a national language in Niger and Mali, the politicking of the Amazigh question is an ongoing, frenzied contest between Arabists, Islamicists, and secularists in Algeria and Morocco. However, short of a constitutional recognition of Tamazight and a clear mandate backed by a solid budget and effective directives for the teaching of Tamazight in public schools, allocation of media time for Tamazight and other Tamazight dialects, and recognition of the Amazigh role in the formation processes of North African states, the ceremonial acts invested in the establishment of task forces, commissions, and institutes for the inclusion of Tamazight and all things Amazigh into the North African identity matrix will remain for some time to come unfinished business or, in North American parlance, "business as usual."

The Dictionary

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ABBANE, RAMDANE (1920–1957). Abbane was one of the founders of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) and one of the historic leaders of the Algerian Revolution. Abbane was born in the village of Azouza, in the region of Larba Nat Iraten in Greater Kabylia. Despite his modest socioeconomic background, he earned a baccalaureate in mathematics. Afterward, he served as a clerk in the colonial administration (in the city hall of the mixed commune of Chelghoum el-Aid, former Chateaudun-du-Rhumel) and as a noncommissioned officer in the French army during World War II. In 1943, he joined the pro-independence party, Parti du Peuple Algérien (PPA), and in 1947, he became a party leader of the Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques (MTLD) in the Sétif region. In 1950, Abbane was arrested in the wake of the French crackdown of the paramilitary organization Organisation spéciale (OS). He was sentenced to six years in jail, with internment in the Haut-Rhin in France. On his release in 1955, he joined the FLN and was successful in recruiting members of the Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien (UDMA), the Parti Communiste Algérien (PCA), and the Association des Ulémas Musulmans Algériens (AUMA) to join the liberation movement platform.

Abbane is best remembered for his active role in shaping the Soummam Valley Congress on 20 August 1956 in Kabylia. Under his skillful and fiery leadership, the congress adopted a political platform as well as a military reorganization framework of the Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN) that members of the external delegation of the FLN (Ahmed Ben Bella and Mohamed Boudiaf) rejected. Although the Soummam framework favored collective political leadership,

Abbane was, undeniably, the unofficial leader. His role in the Soummam Valley Congress as well as his stand on the principles that the external delegation should be subordinate to the internal affairs and leadership of the revolution and that the civilian and political wing of the FLN should control the military made him undesirable in several nationalist circles. In 1957, he was lured by his detractors to Morocco, where he was strangled to death by the external delegation leaders of the FLN. His murder eliminated a passionate and tireless Kabyle, who had the potential to provide a social and economic roadmap for the revolution. His death also opened the door to the military to take control of Algeria's politics and fate. His death, however, was reported a year later in the *Moujahid*, the FLN's official newspaper, in May 1958. Recent revisionist and official history of the Algerian revolution and its politics has reevaluated Abbane's contributions to the struggle against the French and has rehabilitated his place and legacy as a bona fide Algerian nationalist or *chef historique*. *See also* BERBERIST CRISIS; KABYLES.

`ABBES MASSAADI. *See* MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE.

`ABD ALLAH IBN YASIN. Theologian of the Malikite school of law, professing puritan convictions, descended from the Jazula, one of the **Sanhaja** tribes nomadizing in the Sahara. Invited by the Guddala and Lamtuna tribes, he went preaching among them and led a rigorous campaign against practices that he considered contrary to the *shari`a* and proceeded to build an Islamic community (1042–1059). Soon, however, Guddala opposition to his strict religious norms caused Ibn Yasin and his followers to withdraw to an island along the Senegal River. There he created a militant reforming movement, a *ribat*, sustained by the holy war for the defense of the spread of the faith. Within a short period of time, this small community of *Murabitin* was joined by other adepts and led by Ibn Yasin, who founded the history-making **Almoravid** Empire.

`ABD AL-MU'MIN.** His full name is Ibn `Ali Ibn `Alawi Ibn Ya`laa al-Kumi, and he was the first ruler of the **Almohad Empire (1133–1161), which he built up from the politicoreligious community founded in the Atlas Mountains by his teacher, the religious reformer

Ibn Tumart. `Abd al-Mu'min was born in a village in the vicinity of Tlemcen (western Algeria), the country of the Kumya member tribe of the Berber **Zanata** confederation. While still a youth, he left his home to study in the Arab East (al-Mashriq) at the renowned seats of religious learning, and he joined Ibn Tumart when he heard him preaching around Bougie. He remained his master's most devoted disciple who shared in all his wanderings westward and together with him rallied under the Almohad flag of the **Masmuda** tribes of the Atlas, calling them to the holy war against the Almoravid Empire. He was closest to Ibn Tumart, and it was he whom the Mahdi Ibn Tumart shortly before his death instituted as his successor (1130).

Having brought under his sway, in a struggle of about 20 years, the whole of Morocco and western Algeria, Abd al-Mu'min carried the holy war into Spain and eastern Algeria and Tunisia, where the **Zirid** and **Hammadid** emirs at al Mahdiya and Bougie defended their shrinking realms with little hope for survival against the pressure of Arab Bedouin tribes and the Normans of Sicily. As *Amir al-Mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful), the secular and spiritual head of the state, he elaborated for the requirements of an empire the system of public administration, devised by Ibn Tumart and founded on a combination of tribal institutions, a sort of religious hierarchy and military structure, with governors of the provinces and larger towns selected from among his own or Abu Hasf 'Umar's clans. Everywhere a network of missionaries spread and kept alive the tenets of the Almohad faith and the principles of the theocratic movement that rested on it. He left one of the most powerful, large, and solidly institutionalized empires in the history of the Maghrib. He died in 1161 and was buried in Jbal Tinmal beside the tomb of Ibn Tumart.

`ABD AL-WADIDS (1236–1550).** They are also known as Banu Zayyan and Banu `Abd Al-Wad or the Zayyanids, a Berber dynasty in **Tlemcen with a territory covering approximately western Algeria and at the peak of its greatest expansion reaching as far as Algiers. The Al-Wadids were a clan of the Banu Wasin, a branch of the **Zanata** confederation, and related, but in hereditary hostility to, the Moroccan dynasty of the **Marinids**. In the years of its decline, their leader Abu Yahya Yaghmurasan Ibn Zayyan was governor of the town of Tagrart, a foundation of the **Almoravid** ruler **Yusuf Ibn**

Tashafin with which the neighboring town of **Agadir** was to grow into the city of **Tlemcen**. Respected for his just and wise leadership and political insight, Yaghmurasan spoke in his Zanata dialect and set up a solid government structure.

ABDOULAYE, MOHAMED. A prominent Nigerien civil servant, former minister of state enterprises, and **Tuareg** leader. From 1992 to 1993, he served as interim secretary in charge of administrative reforms. He is claimed to have been an active supporter of the **Tuareg rebellion** in northern Niger.

`ADDI OU BIHI (1898–1961).** His full name is `Addi Ou Bihi Zadgui, and the word "Zadgui" is an Arabic corruption of the Berber name "Izday," the name of his tribal affiliation. He is also known simply as `Addi Ou Bihi n'Aït Rho. He was a caid of the Aït Izday tribe of the Aït Yaflman confederation in south-central Morocco. In 1956, he was the first governor of **Tafilalet Province. In 1957, the rise of the Istiqlal Party and its increasing paternalistic influence in micromanaging local politics of newly independent Morocco irritated the sensibilities and vision of Caid `Addi Ou Bihi for his province. During the same year, while King Mohammed V was on a Mediterranean cruise, `Addi Ou Bihi shut down all Istiqlal Party offices and imprisoned their cadres. His insurrection was quickly suppressed by force led by King Hassan II (1961–1999), then Crown Prince Moulay Hassan. `Addi Ou Bihi, who claimed in his defense that he was only protecting the interests of the king from the political maneuvering of the Istiqlal Party, was sentenced to death for treason. He was incarcerated for almost four years. He is said to have been executed in January 1961, and he was buried in Karrandou, his native village, which is about 15 kilometers south of Rich. `Addi Ou Bihi's revolt embodied Berber discontent with the perceived domination by the Arabist Istiqlal Party of the country's nascent bureaucratic system. *See also* RIF REVOLT.

ADER. An arid land and windswept region of the Tessaoua Département and home of Ader's mixed population. Its large Azna (mostly Hausa) population is greatly intermixed with **Tuareg** and other ethnic groups. Currently, Ader's population is around 560,000, of whom

55,000 are Tuareg, 400,000 Hausa, and the remainder Fulani and other pastoralist groups. The hostile environment of Ader is characterized by dry-season sandstorms and the *harmattan* winds.

AFTASIDS (1022–1095). They are an Arabized Hispano-Berber dynasty belonging to the **Maknassa** clans settled in the area north of Cordoba. They are also known as Banu Aftas and sometimes referred to as Banu Maslama. At one time, with their seat at Badajoz, they ruled almost the entire western area of the Iberian Peninsula, stretching from the valley of the Guadiana into present-day Portugal, including Lisbon. The founder of the dynasty, `Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Maslama, surnamed al-Aftas, had held a high-ranking position at the court of the Umayyad caliph al-Hakam II and ascended the throne after the death of his sovereign. After several attempts to stop the advance of the Abbasid rulers of Seville and the kings of Castile and Leon, the Aftasid capital, Badajoz, was conquered by an **Almoravid** army (1095), and two of the last Aftasid heirs fell into the hands of the enemy and lost their lives. A third heir and some of his followers found refuge with King Alfonso and were converted to Catholicism.

AGADEZ (CITY). The mud-walled city of Agadez lies in the far upper reach of the Republic of Niger, below the foothills of the **Aïr** Massif and west of the Tenere Sand Sea. It is the capital of Aïr, a historically major **Tuareg** town, and also the name of Niger's northern *département*. Established in 1430, the town's name is derived from the Berber term "Tadakest," meaning "visitor's meeting place." Given its remote location in the Sahara Desert, the town developed as a major caravan trade entrepôt and slave market in the 16th century. For more than 500 years, Agadez has been a crossroads for Berbers and sub-Saharan Africans, Arab traders, and European explorers, a place of Ghanaian gold and Makkan pilgrims, Barbary horses, and Ottoman brocades. The town is famous for its 16th-century mosque and its 26.82-meter spiked minaret. With the discovery of uranium in the region, the town's population rose to about 30,000. During the Sahel droughts of the 1970s, the arrival of nomadic refugees caused a dramatic population increase to about 105,000. *See also* AGADEZ (*Département*).

AGADEZ (*DÉPARTEMENT*). The *département* of Agadez covers an area of 700,000 square kilometers and has a population of about 70,000. The population consists of **Tuareg**, Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Arab, and Toubou. The *département* is composed of the *arrondissements* of Agadez, Arlit, and Bilma and the *postes administratifs* of Iferaoun and **In Gall**. Today, what brings outsiders to Agadez are the goods and services of a new millennium—high-grade uranium and high-end **tourism**. The French-owned mine at Arlit, 250 kilometers to the north along the "Uranium Highway" that connects the **Aïr** to Niamey, Niger's capital, fuels France's nuclear power plants. On a parallel course are *pont d'Afrique* charter flights—nonstop air-bridge flights from Paris—bringing tourists in search of the Sahara's most beautiful dunes and exotic, nomadic ways of life.

AGADEZ, SULATANATE OF. The origin of the sultanate is found in the *Chronicles of Agadez* and the oral histories of certain **Tuareg** tribes: the Kel Owey, Kel Ferwan, and Itesen. The sultanate is still a living institution, a body of men and **women** whose functions in the city and surrounding region are both very much of the moment and deeply embedded in the past. According to these sources, the sultanate developed as a major caravan trade entrepôt at the fringe of the Sahara Desert, a crossroad on the routes to the Hausa in the south, Tibesti and Bornu in the east, and Gao in the west. According to oral traditions, the Tuareg tribes had been embroiled in internecine strife for so long that they finally sent an emissary to the Ottoman court (to Fezzan, north of **Aïr**, present-day Libya) seeking the appointment of a king. The sultan could not provide a legitimate son ready to act as king in Aïr and sent Younous, his son by a slave-concubine, who arrived in Aïr with a large entourage, hence the origin of the low status of the sultans of Agadez.

In 1424, Younous was removed from power by his son Ag Hassan, who himself was deposed by his brother Alissoua in 1430. Alissoua was the one who selected **Agadez** (actually Tagadest or Eguedech) as the capital of the sultanate. In the beginning, the sultanate was largely nomadic but finally settled first at Tadeliza, then Tin Chaman, and finally Agadez. The sultan had no real authority except moral power over those clans that accept his authority. Most power is in the hands of the ***anastafidet*** (the leader of the Kel Owey) and the second most

important political person in Aïr after the sultan. Despite the sultan's authority, his direct rule was limited to the black population, with the bulk of the religious **Ineslemen** clans not paying tribute.

As a major trade hub, the northward routes linked Agadez to Tamanrasset, Touat, Tassili, and Fezzan; the southward routes led to Hausa land, Benin, and Bornu; the westward routes led to In Gall and on to Timbuktu; and the eastward routes led to Bilma, Tibesti, and Kufra. A percentage of all commodities passing through Aïr went to the sultan as well as a portion of the ***azalay*** trade, a fact that made most sultans very wealthy. In 1740, however, the town was sacked by the Kel Owey, contributing to its decline. Also around this time, **Assodé** disappeared. With the emergence of the salt trade, Agadez regained some of its former importance but never became again the powerful state it had once been. In 1850, Heinrich Barth reported that the town was in an advanced state of ruin.

During the French conquest of Aïr, the French removed the ruling sultan of Agadez, Othman Ben Abdel Qadr, and replaced him in 1907 with Ibrahim ed-Dasouqy, who was himself sacked by the French and exiled to Konni. The next sultan, Tagama, ruled until 1916, when he joined rebellious forces against French colonial rule. After breaking the siege of Agadez, the French massacred and executed hundreds of religious and civil leaders. Tagama was murdered, and Ibrahim ed-Dasouqy was reappointed sultan. On his death, Umar became sultan and ruled until the 1960s. By custom, the sultan, descending from the lineage of Younous, is appointed by the five major tribes of the area under the chairmanship of the Itesen.

Today, Ibrahim Oumarou is the 126th sultan of the Aïr, and his 40-year reign has been exceeded in length only by that of his father. Among the sultan's duties are dealing with drought, tribal rebellion, uranium prices, and mining issues. Other matters brought before his court touch on marriages, inheritances, intertribal complaints, and tax grievances. The sultan hears disputations with the *qadi* (judge) and *imam* (prayer leader) and the *massou oun-goriwa*, the chiefs of Agadez's 16 government districts. Decisions are final.

AGADIR (plural IGUDAR). The term denotes a fortified granary for common use by a number of families with a separate storage for each one of them. This ancient institution served not only for the safe storage

of food but also as a stronghold in the intermittent intertribal warfare. The families constituting such *agadir* communities are connected by blood ties through a common ancestor or through neighborhood relation with the village. Its old usage as fortification is still anchored in the names of various localities in the **Sous**, the **Rif**, and the Atlas in which the term *agadir* occurs accompanied by a topographical feature as in Agadir Nuflla. Agadir is also the name of the city of **Agadir** in the Sous region. In western Algeria, the ancient town of Agadir, today in ruins, gave way to present-day **Tlemcen**. *See also* CHAOUIA.

AGADIR (CITY). Agadir is a major seaport on the Atlantic Coast, and it is the capital of the **Sous**-Massa-Drâa administrative region. It has a population of 610,600. Agadir is located on a bay eight kilometers north of the Sous River and 29 kilometers southeast of Cap Ghir. The Portuguese built a fort in the area in 1505, perhaps in connection with fishing activities, that was then purchased by the king of Portugal on 25 January 1513. The Sous area had already had a port for some time. Arab geographers of the 9th, 11th, and 12th centuries mention the Massa port between Tiznit and Agadir. The Sa`diyin conquered the Agadir fort in 1541, and Agadir, within 30 years, became an important Moroccan port until, with the construction of Mogador (Essaouira) in 1765, it was closed to trade. It remained closed until 1930.

In 1911, the naval destroyer *Panther* arrived in Agadir to make a case to Morocco for German claims, based on commercial ties, and pressure the French into making territorial concessions elsewhere. The German posturing led to the Franco-German Treaty of 4 November 1911, in which France provided concessions in Congo to Germany in return for abandonment of claims in Morocco. On 29 February 1960, a powerful earthquake devastated much of Agadir and killed about 15,000 people, but it has since been rebuilt into one of Morocco's major urban centers and seaside resorts.

AGADIR CHARTER. This text is concerned with Berber cultural and linguistic rights and identity claims in Morocco, and it was signed on 5 August 1991 by a collective of Amazigh cultural associations in **Agadir**. This collective consisted of the Rabat Moroccan Research and Cultural Exchange Association, the Agadir Summer University

Association, the Goulmima Ghris Cultural Association, the Rabat New Association for Cultural and Popular Arts, the Nador Ilmas Cultural Association, and the Casablanca Soussi Cultural Association. The Agadir Charter outlined Berber demands and the establishment of the Institute of Tamazight Studies and Research. The goals of this institute include the promotion of Berber language and history, elaboration of a unified writing system of **Tamazight**, insertion of Tamazight in the educational system, and establishment of a department of Tamazight language and culture in every Moroccan university. The text also called for a revisionist reading and analysis of Moroccan history. Consequently, the charter led to the spread of Berber cultural associations throughout Morocco. *See also* SOUS.

AG AHMADOU, MOHAMED. *Chef de cabinet* and adviser to former president Seyni Kountché of Niger. A major **Tuareg** political figure, Ag Ahmadou was linked to the attempted coup d'état of March 1976. In 1982, he defected to Libya to launch a pan-Tuareg movement in the Sahel on behalf of President Mu`ammar al-Gadhafi. He has also been associated with the 1990 Tuareg attacks on **Tchin Tabaraden**, which ushered in the **Tuareg rebellion** in Niger.

AG BOULA, GHISSA. Tuareg leader of the **Front de Libération de l'Aïr et de l'Azawad** (FLAA), one of many armed groups against rule by Niamey in Niger in the early 1990s. He was also vice president of the **Coordination de la Résistance Armée**. In September 1992, he was captured in southern Algeria and was later released.

AGDAL (plural IGULDAN). This word denotes pasture in private and communal property of an individual owner or community of users and serving only herds. In its classic form, an *agdal* is a communal pasture whose opening and closing dates are fixed by the community of users. An *agdal* is a collective property used by tribal and intertribal groups, and customary laws limit its boundaries and fix its closing and opening dates. *Agdal* systems exist at different levels of the social organization of the commons. Some are used by sedentary residents of a single village, while others are under the right of use of different transhumant clans and tribes. In the eastern **High Atlas**

Mountains and the Saharan lowlands, for instance, the term *agdal* traditionally refers to collective pasture governed and managed by a local assembly of elderly men representing the tribes of the confederation who fix the opening and closing of pasture. This same assembly designates an *amghar n-ugdal* or *n'tuga* (grass administrator) to enforce the dates of closings and openings and to report violations of the customary rules of the *agdal*'s administration. *See also* DROUGHTS; PASTORAL NOMADISM.

AGRICULTURE. Although Berbers have been historically associated with practices of **pastoral nomadism**, agriculture has been significant to some groups, especially those that inhabit mountainous areas, plains, and oases. The quality of water and soils is poor throughout most of the region, and there are additional impediments, such as sandstorms and locusts. Despite all these constraints, farmers have been able to eke out a living in these marginal lands. Traditionally, farmers tend fig, olive, and apple and date palm trees. They also cultivate a wide variety of crops, such as barley, wheat, corn, fava beans, and an assortment of vegetables and other fruit. However, the bulk of cereals and other fruit is imported to satisfy the requirements of population growth.

AHARDAN, MAHJOUBI (1922–). He was one of the founders of the **Mouvement Populaire (MP)** in 1956–1957 and was its first secretary-general (1962–1963). Ahardan is member of the Aït `Ammar of Oulmes and a graduate of the Collège Berbère in Azrou, a Franco-Berber school, as well as of the Military Academy of Meknes. He served in the French armed forces during World War II and as caid of his native area, Oulmes, from 1949 to 1953. As caid during the time of the exile of King Mohammad V, he rejected the Glaoui petition to depose the king. As a result, he was dismissed by the French and became a commander of one of the units of the Moroccan Liberation Army. As for his political career, Ahardan served as governor of Rabat Province (1956–1958), as minister of defense (1961–1964 and 1966–1967), as minister of agriculture and agrarian reforms (1964–1966), and as minister of post and telecommunications (1977). Over the past two decades, however, Ahardan's historical position and status within the MP has been challenged by a new breed of young Berber politicians bent on breathing new life into Berber is-

sues and organizing. In 1986, Ahardan was removed from the position of leadership in the MP and then formed a new party, the **Mouvement Populaire National**.

AÏR. Mountainous massif in northern Niger in the **Agadez *département***. In the Hausa language, it goes by the name of Abzin. It is a Precambrian granite massif with past volcanic activity. It runs 400 kilometers from north to south and 100 to 200 kilometers from east to west and contains fertile valleys and hidden oases. Its area covers 61,000 square kilometers between the desert plains of **Azawak** and Ténéré. Humans have occupied the area since prehistoric times, when its climate was more hospitable and humid. It is presently populated by nomadic and agropastoralist **Tuareg**, Hausa, and other ethnic groups. The area has salt pans of considerable importance in In Gall and Teguidda-n'Tesemet, cassiterite at El Mecki, uranium in several places (including Arlit), coal in the south, and other minerals in what is Niger's mining area and its hard-currency provider. It came under French control in 1904 and was a center of Tuareg political activism and revolts during World War I.

Starting in the 11th century, Tuareg groups have poured into the Aïr area. Among the first to arrive were the Issandalan and the Kel Gress, later the Kel Owey. Today, the area is home to the Kel Ferouane, Kel Fadey, and the Ouilliminden. The Issandalan, who arrived to Aïr in the 12th century and among whom the Itesen were the most important group, founded **Assodé** as their capital, the latter considered to be the oldest city in Aïr. It was also the Issandalan who were behind the rise of the **sultanate of Agadez** prior to their conflicts with the Kel Owey and Kel Gress. With the fall of Assodé, political and economic power associated with the trans-Saharan caravan trade shifted to Tadeliza, then Tin Chaman, and finally **Agadez**.

Given the dislocation effects of the 1970s Sahel droughts, most of the Tuareg population is composed of the Kel Owey, the Kel Tamat, and the Kel Ikazkazan. These groups are under the jurisdiction of the ***anastafidet***, the leader of the Kel Owey. The other groups in the area include the Kel Ferouan in the vicinity of Agadez and west of the massif toward Damergou. Most Tuareg pastoralists, who became **refugees** in the 1970s, are not subject to the rule of the *anastafidet*, nor do they fall under the authority of the Kel Amenukal.

AÏT. A Berber term meaning the "people of," equivalent to the Tuareg **Kel** or the Arabic *banu*, and used only in combination with proper nouns as the indication of the name of a tribe, such as Aït Atta.

AÏT AHMED, HOCINE (1926–). He is a **Kabyle** and one of the historic leaders of the Algerian Revolution. He comes from a prosperous Kabyle family, and his father served as a caid during the French colonial era. Aït Ahmed is also called the "eternal rebel" for his role in fighting French colonialism and for being a fierce opponent of successive governments in Algeria. He joined the Parti du Peuple Algérien (PPA) when he was still in high school and later became a member of the Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques (MTLD). In 1947, he was instrumental in the creation and organization of the secret paramilitary organization, Organisation spéciale (OS). In 1950, he was removed by Ahmed Ben Bella from the leadership of the OS, as he was viewed to be too much of a Berberist. In 1951, he left Algeria after French courts had condemned him in absentia for various crimes against the state. He took refuge in Cairo, and, as a representative first of the MTLD and then as an external member of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), he traveled extensively promoting the Algerian cause. In 1955, he attended the Bandung Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Indonesia. In 1956, the Soummam Valley Congress elected him to the Conseil National de la Révolution Algérienne (CNRA). On 22 October 1956, he was captured by the French authorities in the skyjacking of members of the external delegation, and he spent the rest of the war in prison.

After independence, Aït Ahmed opposed the Ben Bella government, which seized power in Algiers. He also withdrew his membership from the Political Bureau of the FLN but was elected a deputy in the first National Assembly of independent Algeria. Critical of the Ben Bella government policies, he founded the first opposition party in 1963, the **Front des Forces Socialistes** (FFS), and instigated an insurgency in October and November 1963 from bases in Kabylia, a year after independence in 1962. He was arrested in 1964 and condemned to death but escaped from jail that year to live in exile in France and Switzerland until 1989, when his party was legally registered. In 1984, after his reconciliation with Ben Bella, they jointly called for elections for constitutional reforms and for political rights in Algeria.

After the October riots of 1988, he returned from exile on 15 December 1989, and the FFS was also legalized as an opposition party. He boycotted the elections of June 1990, and he and the Kabyles were angered by the December 1990 Arabization Law promoting the use of Arabic at the expense Berber, or **Tamazight**. As a political party, the FFS supported the democratic process in spite of its reservations about the possibility of Islamist government. Despite the erosion of civil and political rights in Algeria, the FFS has kept its legal status, and it is still in opposition and continues to promote Kabyle rights.

Aït Ahmed is a serious scholar. He received a doctoral degree in Nancy, France, in 1975, and his dissertation investigated human rights in the charter and practice of the Organization of African Union (OAU). He authored *La guerre et l'après-guerre* (1964) and *Mémoires d'un combattant* (1983). *See also* ARABIZATION.

AKASA. A Tamasheq term for the June/July–September rainy season and cool weather. For farmers this marks the start of the planting season, while for the nomads it signals the beginning of transhumant migration to the northern salt pans. It is also known as *cure salée*.

ALKASSOUM, AL BAYHAKI. Tuareg of the Kel Aghlal and Islamic scholar. A former director of the *madrasa* in Say and head of the first Arab-French high school in Niger. He has been secretary-general of the Association Islamique du Niger since its establishment in 1974. He also held the directorship of Arabic education in the Ministry of Education.

ALMOHADS. Spanish form of the Arabic word *al-Muwahhidun* (Unitarians). It refers to a Berber dynasty (1113–1269) that crushed the **Almoravid** dynasty and for more than a century controlled an empire consisting of the entire Maghrib (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya) and al-Andalus (Islamic Spain). The state was built on the religious teachings of the reformer **Ibn Tumart** and was solidly entrenched among his fellow tribesmen, the **Masmuda** of the **High Atlas Mountains**. Its rise occurred in the mountain town of Tinmal. Ibn Tumart's teachings stressed the unity of God (*tawhid*), commandments of strict austerity in private and public life, absolute obedience

to the infallible God-guided leader (the **Mahdi**), and the propagation of the creed. Under Ya`qub al-Mansur (1184–1199), the empire reached its highest peak of development. The al-Mansur court also featured the presence of Ibn Rushd (Avirroes), the Andalusian philosopher and commentator. In 1236, the empire collapsed as the **Hafsids** carved out Ifriqya and the **`Abd al-Wadids** took control of Tlemcen. In 1248, the **Marinids** established themselves in Fès, and the Nasrid princes took over Granada. By virtue of its religious ideology, military power and political organization, and economic and cultural development, the state still fires the imagination of contemporary attempts at North African unity. *See also* ABD AL-MU'MIN.

ALMORAVIDS (1061–1147). The name "Almoravids," with which the movement is known in Western scholarship, is a Spanish corruption of the Arabic "Al-Murabitun" and designates a Sanhaja Berber dynasty, which ruled over Morocco, western Algeria, and al-Andalus. The Almoravids were brought to power by the theologian **`Abd Allah Ibn Yasin** and his reformist holy warriors (*al-murabitun*). They conquered the Soninke Kingdom of Ghana and laid siege to **Sijilmassa** in 1055–1056. Fès was taken in 1069, and Algiers was brought under their control in 1082 after taking Tlemcen and Oran. The Almoravids also controlled parts of Spain after a solid victory against Alphonso VI in 1086. A relative of the first disciples, **Yusuf Ibn Tashfin** (1061–1107), who built Marrakech in 1060, became the first founder of the dynasty, which, despite its short life, left tremendous political and cultural impacts on the historical map of North Africa, Spain, and the Sahara Desert.

The Almoravids reached their zenith under Ibn Tashfin's rule. As a result of the establishment of the Almoravids in Spain, North Africa received a cultural infusion from Andalusia. The Malikite school of law also entrenched itself in North Africa. Opposition to Islamic practices that were limited to the literal and anthropomorphic conception of the word of the Qur'an fell into rigidity, and this state of affairs triggered religious and political opposition. In Andalusia it led to a new disintegration into numerous city-states, and in the Atlas Mountains it led to a revolt of the **Masmuda** tribes, inspired by the teachings of the religious reformer, the **Mahdi Ibn Tumart**. In addition to constant Christian assaults, the Almoravids would finally suc-

cumb to the overwhelming campaigns of the warrior-monks, the **Almohads**, as Marrakech was taken in 1147.

AMAZIGH FLAG. The Amazigh flag is a transnational symbol of Amazigh land or **Tamazgha**. It was created at the first meeting of the Amazigh World Congress of 1997 in Tarifa, **Canary Islands**. The flag has three horizontal stripes of blue, yellow, and green, with the **Tifinagh** letter “Z” in black in the middle of it. There are several interpretations of the flag. The top blue stripe stands for the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, the middle yellow stripe for the color of ancient **Numidia** and the Sahara Desert, and the bottom green stripe for the greenery of the valleys, the plains, and the mountains. The Tifinagh letter “Z” is from the root of the word “Amazigh,” which means to be in a state of freedom, nobility, and independence. With the creation of an Amazigh flag and the promotion of Berberness at home and abroad, Berbers have been able to construct an Amazigh homeland, or at least an imaginary geography in which the notion and layer of Tamazgha defines its boundaries as extending from **Siwa** in western Egypt to the Canary Islands and from the Mediterranean shores to the sub-Saharan frontier.

AMAZIGH MANIFESTO. Following the 1990s Berber protests and demands for recognition of the Amazigh/Berber **language** on 1 March 2001, the Amazigh Manifesto was adopted. The manifesto was written by intellectuals and activists under the leadership and guidance of **Mohamed Chafik**. About 229 intellectuals, professors, artists, activists, and bureaucrats signed the text. Similar to the **Agadir Charter**, it questioned the Arab-Islamic foundations and nationalist accounts of Moroccan official history. The text demands an inclusive approach and attitude to North African culture and history. One of its demands reads as follows: “Among the strangest things, in Morocco, is that the Amazighe language is not officially considered a language. One of the most embittering things for an Amazighe (Berber), in the ‘independence era,’ is to hear . . . ‘the official or national language is Arabic . . . by virtue of the text of the Constitution!” The manifesto is believed to have led to the creation of the Institut Royal pour la Culture Amazigh (IRCAM) and the monarchy’s choice of **Tifinagh** as the official script for **Tamazight**. *See also* LANGUAGES.

AMGHAR. *See* JAMA`A.

AMIROUCHE AÏT HAMMOUDA (1926–1959). He was a **Kabyle** and one of the early historic leaders of the Algerian resistance to French colonialism. He was born in the village of Tassaft Ouguemmoun in Greater Kabylia. Before the liberation struggle, he was influenced by the Association of Reformist `Ulama (learned doctors of Islamic law) and the Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques (MTLD). In 1948, he joined the Organisation spéciale (OS), and he was arrested in 1950 during the French repression of the early forms of Algerian resistance. In 1952, he was released and relocated to France, where he mobilized the Algerian immigrant communities against French colonial practices.

It was during the war of independence that young Amirouche gained his famous reputation. Aït Hammouda, whose nom de guerre was "Amirouche," founded his own guerrilla group in eastern Kabylia. He became the leader of Wilaya III with about 800 fighters, and it was Amirouche who provided security for the Soummam Valley Congress in August 1956. Eventually, he was captured and killed by the French during a fierce firefight in March 1959. As a result of Amirouche's exploits and legend, he became a symbol of the Algerian struggle of independence. He is celebrated in songs and revolutionary chants in the Kabyle collective memory.

AMROUCHE JEAN EL MOUHOUB (1906–1962). He was born in the village of Ighil Ali in Lesser Kabylia. He was a francophone poet, writer, and journalist. His works represent sophisticated and nuanced analyses of the plight and place of the peoples of Algeria under France's colonial and assimilationist policies. His parents were **Kabyles** who converted to Christianity. Throughout his life, he tried to describe Algeria and its struggles to the rest of the world. Amrouche lived and taught in Tunis. He was a friend of Charles de Gaulle and acted as intermediary between the general and Farhat Abbas, the president of the Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne (GPRA). Although he was not a member of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), he was critical of French colonialism and defended the independence of Algeria.

Among Amrouche's most significant works were *Cendres* in 1934 and *Etoile secrète* in 1937. In 1939, he published a translation of Kabyle songs titled *Chants berbères de Kabylie*. In 1942, he published an article, "*Notes sur la grâce de ravissement en poésie*," and another one in 1943 titled "*Pour une poésie africaine, préface à des chants imaginaires*." In 1946, he published a brilliant essay that he titled "*Eternel Jugurtha, propositions sur le génie africain*," which may well be one of the best attempts to explain the Algerian predicament. He had a lasting influence on the so-called generation of 1954, Algerian writers who wrote about the war of independence and decolonization. He was also a friend of Albert Camus, André Gide, and Jean Giono. Amrouche died in Paris in 1962, a few months before Algeria achieved its independence.

ANASTAFIDET. Leader of the Kel Owey Tuareg. He once lived in **Assodé** but since the 1920s relocated to **Agadez**. Considered to be the most powerful political figure in Aïr, he was only second in status to the sultan of Agadez. Of noble origins, he is elected for a three-year term and could be annually recalled by the Kel Tafidet and Kel Azanieres. The junior clan of the Kel Ikzkazan has almost no voice in his selection. The *anastafidet*'s symbol of office is the confederation's drum, or ***ettebel.***

ANDALUS, AL-. The Arabic terms "al-andalus" or "*bilad al-andalus*" is a geographical notion that refers to those parts of the Iberian Peninsula that at any given time came under Muslim rule. At the time of the Arab expansions in the seventh century, the country was a Visigoth kingdom, a minority group of German conquerors. At this time, the Arab troops under Musa Ibn Nusayr marched over North Africa to the Atlantic coast and found themselves facing the narrow straits that separated them from Andalusia. A reconnaissance raid of a few hundred men in July 710 by Tarif, one of Musa's subordinates, met with no resistance and was soon followed by a stronger expedition under Tariq Ibn Ziyad in 711, a Berber, whose memory survives in the names of Strait of Gibraltar and Gibraltar (Jbal Tariq), the mountain of Tariq. With 5,000 men, Tariq beat the Visigoths and ushered in Muslim control of Andalusia for a period that lasted eight centuries.

ARABIZATION. The Arabization policy was the objective of postcolonial governments in North Africa or the so-called Arab Maghrib, and it remains a contested issue down to the present day. The long historical process that has made Arabic the dominant and official **language** in the North African countries, with various dialects, consists of four stages: the period of the first Arab conquerors in the seventh century; the Bedouin invasion of the Banu Hilal, Sulaym, and Ma`qil in the 11th century; the influx of refugees from al-Andalus from the 14th to the 17th century; and postcolonial and pan-Arab nationalist policies of Arabization.

Prior to independence, the French colonial authorities viewed Arabic as a language foreign to the region. In the midst of the blowing winds of pan-Arabism and on independence, however, Arabic was viewed as the tool by which postcolonial North African societies could break the colonial hangover as well as reclaim an authentic identity and culture. To achieve these goals, governments enacted laws to anchor the Arabic language in the educational and socialization landscapes and state official activities. They also constitutionally elevated Arabic to the status of being the official and exclusive language of North Africa, much to the detriment of the Berber language, **Tamazight**. Consequently, while very little room is left for bilingualism or foreign languages, education, media, place-names, and peoples' names became Arabized.

The Arabization policy has been very controversial. The notion of Arabization embodied in the politics of language excluded the Berbers, leading to sporadic unrest and even violent and bloody protest in the 1980s, especially in Algeria. In Morocco, the pan-Arabist and nationalist al-Istiqlal and Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires (USFP) political parties, despite their progressive discourse on diversity, have systematically blocked any effort to recognize Berber as the other official language of Morocco. The rise of Islamist and Arabist politics adds an explosive dimension to the current debate and controversy over language rehabilitation and reform since Arabic is the sacred language of Islam's holy book, the Qur'an.

ARIWAN. A small nomadic-pastoralist camp composed of about five or six tents. The term is usually applied to the individual nomadic

camp or tent. Tents camping together form an *ariwan*, and they are usually related through agnatic ties.

ARMÉE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LIBÉRATION DE L'AZAWAD (ARLA). One of many **Tuareg** armed movements in **Azawak** struggling for liberation against the armed forces of Niger. At the beginning, it was part of the Movement Populaire pour la Libération de l'Azawad (MPLA) but withdrew in June 1993, together with three other movements, after the MPLA signed peace agreements in Mali. In 1992, it joined forces with two other resistance formations to found the Movement et Fronts Unifiés de l'Azaouad (MFUA). In 1993, it joined the umbrella organization of the **Coordination de la Résistance Armée** (CRA). *See also* TUAREG REBELLION.

ARMÉE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LIBÉRATION DU NORD NIGER (ARLN). One of many **Tuareg** armed movements in northern Niger struggling for liberation against the armed forces of Niger. It is guided by Mohamed Abdoulmoumine. Its arena of activism and operations was, however, constricted by a second group, the Front Patriotique de Libération du Sahara (FPLS). In 1993, it joined the umbrella organization of the **Coordination de la Résistance Armée** (CRA). *See also* TUAREG REBELLION.

ASSODÉ. Ancient city and former capital of **Aïr**. Built in A.D. 880 by the leader of the Issandalan **Tuareg** clan, located in the vicinity of **Agadez**, its ruins testify to its glorious age as a major political and economic hub in the Sahara Desert. Its decline was caused by internecine power struggles between the Kel Gress and Kel Owey and the rise of the **sultanate of Agadez** by 1405. The subsequent relocation of the powerful ***anastafidet*** structure to Agadez in 1917 signified the death of Assodé.

**`ASSOU OU BASLAM (1890–1960).** His full name was `Aissa Ou `Ali n'Aït Baslam. He was born in the village of Taghya at the foot of the Saghro Mountain massif, the heartland of the Aït Atta confederation. His father was the community leader of the Ilamshan clan, the ***amghar*** *n'tmazirt*. In 1919, `Assou became a clan leader, and he

is believed to have shown from an early age a hostile attitude toward French colonial schemes and their collaborators' designs on Aït Atta land, especially the Glawi family. In the early 1920s, he was one of the first Aït Atta members who resisted the French presence in southern Morocco. He turned his fort in Taghya nIlamshan into a site of resistance. In 1932, he was elected the *amghar nuflla*, or the top chief. In the Saghro Mountains, `Assou and like-minded men harassed the Glawi collaborators. In 1933, Glawi and his collaborators called on the French to put an end to the Aït Atta resistance.

On 21 February 1933, the French armed forces attacked the Jbel Saghro in what is called the Jbel Bou Gafr Battle and in which Aït Atta's short-lived mountainous guerilla tactics outshone the French military power. The initial French setback was quickly reversed by the devastating French bombardment of villages, tents, and herds. Fighting intensified, turning the waters of the Aqqa Noulili Creek bloody red, testifying to the resolution of men, women, and children to defend their dignity and the honor of the tribe and the herd. The savage battle of Bou Gafr left 2,000 casualties and a drastically reduced herd size from 25,000 to 2,500 head (Huré 1952, 118). On 25 March 1933, `Assou and his fighters came down from the mountains and surrendered. Despite the defeat, he put down his arms with conditions that the Glawi authority would not be imposed on the Saghro area, and he obtained the assurance from the French authorities that the customary law, or *azerf*, of the Aït Atta would be applied in his land. These conditions were accepted by the French. In 1933, he was made caid of Ikniwn Bureau by the French, a post he held until his death in 1960. He was one of a tiny handful of tribal caids who survived the transfer of power in 1956. *See also* HIGH ATLAS MOUNTAINS; KHATTABI AL-, ABDELKARIM; MIDDLE ATLAS MOUNTAINS; MOHA OU HAMMOU ZAYANI.

AUGUSTINE (AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS) (354–430). He is a famous Christian saint and was the bishop of Hippo Regius or modern Annaba in eastern Algeria. Saint Augustine was born in Tagaste (modern Souk-Ahras) in eastern **Numidia** and educated in Madauros and Carthage. He went to Rome in 383, and in 387 he was baptized by Bishop Saint Ambrose of Milan. After his stay in Rome, he returned to Tagaste, where he founded a monastery. There he remained

until 391, when he became a priest of Hippo. Eventually, he succeeded Valerius as bishop of Hippo until his death during the siege of the city by the Vandals. He spent much of his time as bishop reconciling the Donatist split from the Christian church. In contrast to the Donatist position, Augustine believed in cooperation with Rome. He championed Catholicism against Manichaeanism and Pelagianism. His most famous works are the *Confessions* and *The City of God*. *Confessions* is a narrative of his life and spiritual development. *The City of God* provides a philosophy of history. He claims that history is paradoxical but providential, leading to the Second Coming of Christ, or the Parousia. He also promoted education, leading to the rise of the Augustinian order of priests. He is venerated in the Catholic Church as a saint, as is his mother, Sainte Monica (322–387), the patroness of wives and mothers.

AURÈS MOUNTAINS. It refers to the great massif of southeastern Algeria and the Saharan Atlas, with its highest peak being the year-round snow-covered Jabal Chélia (Shalya), reaching a height of 2,326 meters. Geographically the most important features of the Aurès are Oued Al Abiod (inhabited by the tribe of Ouled Daoud) and Oued `Abdi (inhabited by the tribe of Ouled `Abdi) engulfed between Jabal Mahmal in the west and Ahmar Khaddou in the east. The Aurès is home to the **Chaouia** Berbers. The Chaouia are sedentary and combine **agriculture** with **pastoral nomadism**. Because of its isolated and rugged terrain, the Aurès sustained resistance against the Romans, the Turks, the Arabs, and the French and during the war of independence (1954–1962). *See also* NUMIDIA.

`AYYASHI, AL-, `ABD ALLAH IBN MUHAMMAD (1628–1679). His full name is Sidi Abdellah Ibn Mohammed Al-`Ayyashi, known also as Abu Salem Al-`Ayyashi. He was a Moroccan author, born of a family of the Aït `Ayyash tribe living in the **High Atlas Mountains** region. He was a devoted member of the **Dila** religious order. Al-`Ayyashi studied religious sciences in Fès, especially the Sufi or mystical aspects, and then traveled about in the Arab East with long stays in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Cairo, either teaching or attending religious seminars given by the prominent scholars of the day. He wrote numerous treatises on religious and philosophical topics, but his

claim to fame rests on his *Ma'u al Mawa'id*, a travel book (*al rihla al `Iyyashiya*) containing information on scholars, theologians, and intellectual activities of the places he visited. Abu Salem is buried in Zawiya Sidi Hamza, northeast of Rich, as are the other members of the ***zawiya***, or religious lodge. *Zawiya* is still active as a pilgrimage center, and the offsprings of the *zawiya* still hold an *agdud* (festival) every year during the birth of the Prophet Muhammad.

AZALAY. Tuareg term meaning the annual or semiannual round-trip salt caravans traversing the Ténéré Desert and the oases of Bilma, Fachi, and Agadez. Salt caravans usually travel in October and November and in March and April, providing food items and commodities to the desert oases and returning with salt slobs produced in Kouar. The *azalay* round-trip takes about three weeks. These caravans were led by a representative of the Amenukal of **Aïr**, followed by the camels of each Tuareg drum group. Previously all *azalay* were exclusively Tuareg, but since the advent of French colonialism, the Hausa and Toubou have become involved. With the introduction of trucks and the building of roads, the *azalay* as once practiced has virtually ceased.

AZAWAD. Tuareg term for the western territories of Mali or desert north of the Niger Bend. The term has gained currency with the **Tuareg rebellion** in the area. It is the center of Tuareg action that takes place on the border between Niger and Mali and is covered by the desert along the valley of the **Azawak** or Azawagh River. Azwad is to the north of **Agadez**, the starting point of the legendary caravan reaching the oasis of Bilma.

AZAWAK. Vast region encompassing the Ader Plateau of southern Niger and the valleys of **Aïr**. *See also* AZAWAD.

AZAYKU SIDQI ALI (1942–2004). He was a poet and a professor of history at the University of Mohammed V in Rabat. Azayku was born in the village of Tafingult, south of Tizi n'Test, in Taroudant Province. Although he came from a modest family, he managed to get through the French and Moroccan school system and to earn an ad-

vanced graduate degree in history and languages from the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes in France. He was also a researcher the Institut Royal pour la Culture Amazigh (IRCAM) as well as a member of its governing board.

From 1969 to 1970, while he was teaching history at the University of Mohammed V in Rabat, he was an active member of the Association Marocaine de las Recherche et de l'Echange Culturel (AMREC), and he sought to highlight Berber issues. At this time, he was instrumental in founding *Arraten* (Writings), one of the first journals devoted to Berber culture and language. In 1981, he and **Mohamed Chafik** established the Amazigh cultural association dedicated to revising North African historiography and providing a place for Berber culture and issues long suppressed by Arabist views of history. He also organized a conference called Berber Civilization.

Subsequently, in 1981, he published an article titled "*fi sabili mafhumin haqiqi lithaqafatina al-wataniya*" (Toward a Real Understanding of our National Culture), in which he argued that unless the government of Morocco took its Berber identity and culture seriously, its future was bound to have severe consequences. It goes without saying that the content and tone of this piece angered the authorities, who charged the author with undermining the security of the state, while Arab nationalist voices deemed the revisionist notion of Moroccan culture and identity and that of North Africa as subversive and irresponsible. This article led to the imprisonment of Azayku for one year.

Azayku wrote a series of articles on Berber culture and language and was the author of several books on history and poetry. He authored *Histoire du Maroc ou les interpretations possibles* (History of Morocco or Other Possible Interpretations), which appeared in *al-islam wa al-amazigh* (Islam and Berbers) and *Namadij min asma' al a`laam al-jughrafiyah wa al-bachariyah al- maghribiyah* (Examples of Moroccan Onomastics) in 2001. In 1993, he edited *Rihlat al-wafid fi akhbar hijrat al-walid fi hadihi al-ajbal bi idn al-wahid* (Travel Account of Tasaft's Marabout in the High Atlas) written by Abdullah Ben al-Hajj Brahim Atsafti. His poetry includes *Timitar* (Signs) (1989) and *Izmoulen* (Scars) (1995).

– B –

BAIDHAQ AL-, ABU BAKR IBN ALI AL SNAHAJI (12TH CENTURY). He was the chronicler of the **Almohad** period and one of the devoted followers of the **Mahdi Ibn Tumart** and his successor, `Abd al Mu'min. At the Almohad court, he documented the events of the day. However, not enough information is available about his life and works; only a 36-page manuscript in the Escurial Library (Madrid) has survived, published by E. Levi Provençal in "*Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*" (Paris, 1928).

BARGHWATA. One of the strong historic Berber confederations of tribes in Morocco, a member of the **Masmuda** confederation. They lived in the area of Tamasna on the Atlantic coast between Salé and Safi. In the middle of the eighth century, they built up a theocratic state that lasted for about 400 years. Its origin dates to a revolt (740–742) led by Barghwata, **Maknassa**, and Mtaghra under the leadership of a Kharejite Berber, Maysara al-Mathaghri, a water carrier in al-Qayrawan. The rebels conquered Tangier and in the Battle of the Nobles inflicted a decisive defeat on the caliph's troops. The revolt was suppressed, but one of Maysara's closest companions, Salih Ibn Tarif (749–795), claimed prophecy for himself. Others hold that it was Yunus Ibn Ilias who made such a claim for himself. Accordingly, claiming that he had hidden knowledge to divulge, Yunus announced that his forefather Salih was the prophet of the Berbers and that his name appeared in the "Qur'an of Muhammad" as "Salih of the true believers" in *Surat al-Tahrim*. He composed the Qur'an in the Berber language for his people and imposed his religion on them by force. The Qur'an has 80 *suras*, or chapters. It was announced and believed that the one to whom the Berber Qur'an was revealed was the Mahdi, Salih Ibn Tarif. Historical documentation shows that the Barghwata preserved the Islamic punishment of stoning for adultery but allowed men to marry more than four wives. They changed the Islamic practices in prayer, fasting, and food taboos but enforced their religious principles with strictness. Through their heretical religious system, the Barghwata isolated themselves until they were wiped out by the **Almoravids** in the middle of the 11th century.

BARUNI AL-, SULEIMAN BASHA. He was a prominent Ibadithe Libyan Berber and a former member of the Ottoman parliament who proclaimed an independent but short-lived Berber state in the Gharyan region. Al-Baruni was from Fesatto in Jabal Nafusa and was a historian of North Africa and Islam. In 1908, on the eve of Italian colonial adventures into Libya, he was elected to represent **Tripolitania** in the Ottoman parliament. Suspected of harboring designs for an independent Ibadithe region in the western mountains, he was imprisoned for his subversive activism during the rule of Abdulhamid.

When war broke out between Italy and the Ottomans, al-Baruni took the side of the latter. In 1916, he was rewarded with the governorship of Tripolitania, Tunisia, and Algeria. He was a member of the ruling Council of Four of the 1918 Tripoli Republic, and he allied himself with the Italians after the promulgation of the *Legge Fondamantale* and visited Rome to celebrate its announcement. The Italians, suspicious of his motives and desires for a separate Ibadithe province, considered his endorsement of the Tripoli Republic as merely tactical.

The Italian policy of dividing the Berbers of Jabal Nefusa from their Arab countrymen resulted in a civil war in the early months of 1921. By the end of the summer of 1921, most of the Berber population had taken refuge in coastal areas under Italian control. Blamed by Berbers for the unrest and its consequences, al-Baruni's career as a nationalist and politician came to an end. In November 1921, he left Libya and traveled to France, Egypt, Turkey, and Mecca before settling down in Oman, where he was appointed finance minister. He died in 1940 in Muscat, Oman. He was the author of an important manuscript on one of the major Ibadithe Imam titled *al azhar al riyadhiyyah fi a'imma wa muluk al `ibadhiyya*. *See also* KHARIJISM.

BELLA. Songhay term for the slaves of the Tuareg. It is *iklan* in Tamasheq and *Buzu* in Hausa.

BERBER DAHIR. Its Arabic name is *al-dhahir al-barbari*, a still-much-debated decree to innovate the system of jurisdiction in Morocco, promulgated by Sultan Muhammad V on 16 March 1930 at the

suggestion of the French resident general, Lucien Saint. It instituted for the Berber country the administration of justice according to its tribal customary law by local assemblies (***jama`a***), as opposed to *shari`a*, in all matters of personal status, inheritance, and civil or commercial litigation and established the competence of French law in criminal cases. Claiming to protect the Berber way of life, it was in fact a colonial tool to debilitate the Arab urban nationalist feelings and did not escape the severe criticism of political and academic groups in France. In Morocco, it evoked sharp reactions by the men of religion as an act that excluded Muslims from the Law of Allah such as it was laid in the Qur'an, and others saw it as a process of de-Islamization and conversion to Christianity. Violent attacks on the Dahir were launched by young urban bourgeois nationalists and in the mosques, mainly in Fès, Rabat, and Salé. A delegation of *`ulama*—notables, men of letters, artisans, and farmers—submitted to the sultan a petition demanding the abrogation of the Dahir, reestablishment of the unified judicial system, discontinuation of Christian missionary activities, and institution of Arabic as the official language and the general language of education. These activities found a loud echo inside and outside Morocco. In 1934, another Dahir partly restored the role of *shari`a*. Otherwise, the Berber Dahir remained in force until it was repealed by the Moroccan government after the achievement of independence. Its historic significance, however, was that it gave birth to currents of resistance against the French policies and Moroccan nationalism and has been used to justify the **Arabization** drive that swept much of North African policymaking after independence, doing damage to Berber culture and **language**.

BERBERIST CRISIS (1949–1950). This crisis refers to the ideological split between the **Kabyle** leaders who called for a secular and multicultural Algeria and the dominant Arab-Islamist ideology within the Algerian mainstream nationalist movement. Although the crisis alienated many Berbers and many were purged, it did not provoke a mass desertion of Berbers. In addition, **Hocine Aït Ahmed** was excluded from the leadership of the Organisation spéciale (OS), francophone intellectuals such as **Mouloud Mammeri** and **Mouloud Feraoun** were condemned for their reactionary regionalism, and key Kabyle historic leaders of the war of independence, notably **Abbane**

Ramdane and **Krim Belkacem**, were assassinated. These tensions resurfaced after independence and remain potent down to this day between visions of a secular Algeria and an Arab-Muslim Algeria, although Algeria's 1964 constitution declared Algeria to be an "Arab Muslim country."

BERBER POLICY. This policy refers to a series of measures taken by the French in Algeria from 1890 to 1930 and in the Protectorate of Morocco from 1913 to 1934 to implement the system of education, the organization of justice, and the reform of the ***jama`a*** (council) traditions and infrastructures. It is also known as native policy.

In Algeria, it took the form of the **Kabyle** myth, which highlighted the distinctive historical features of Berber society, and it was based on attempts to abolish Muslim institutions. Based on the Kabyle myth, French native policymakers played up the notion that the Kabyles were superficially Islamized and were viewed as descendants of the Gauls, the Romans, and Christian Berbers of the Roman era or the German Vandals. Some even called Kabylia the "Auvergne of Africa." Kabyles were believed to be more open to assimilation and amenable to French laws than Muslim Arabs. Education in French schools was encouraged, and Quranic schools were shut down. But despite the attempts to introduce French cultural ways among the Kabyles, the French invested considerable energy to defend customary laws, or *qanoun*, against the *shari`a* (Islamic law) and to preserve the *jama`a*, or village councils. In 1898, the Kabyles were given separate status in the *délégations financières* to remove contact between them and Arabs. However, with the development of better communications, this policy, ironically and much to the chagrin of its originators and defenders, exposed Kabylia to intensive streams of **Arabization**.

Similarly in Morocco, the French practiced a policy of divide and rule where Berbers were concerned. In opposition to Arab identity, the policy was framed within the racist notion of a Berber race with different racial and cultural attributes, such as democracy, light and superficial practices of Islam, lack of fanaticism, superior physical traits, entrepreneurship, bravery, and honesty. The major goal was to preserve Berber customs and religious practices in the hope of nurturing the future acculturation and education of Berbers as colonial

assistants distinct from the “deceitful” Arabs. In the initial stages, Catholic missionaries (especially Cardinal Lavigerie) were encouraged to preach the gospel in the Berber areas and sought to foster French culture and language through the revitalization of Berber Christianity. The core of the policy stressed separate educational and judicial systems for Berbers. Franco-Berber schools were established in the **Middle Atlas**; six schools were built in 1923, growing to 20 schools with an enrollment of 600 by 1930. In 1926, an advanced school called Collège d’Azrou (today Lycée **Tariq Ibn Ziyad**) was created that soon, much to the dismay of the supporters of the Berber Policy, provided an ideal environment where assimilated Berbers learned Arabic and adopted pan-Arab and Islamic attitudes and sentiments.

The reform of the indigenous system of justice began with a circular of 22 September 1915 (no. 7041) recognizing the legal importance of Berber customary law, or *azerf*, and the role of the *jama`a* as sources of arbitration and conflict resolution in Berber areas. In 1924, legal mechanisms were put in place to define the legal functions of the *jama`a* as well as those of appointed arbitrators and to make the Berber judicial system different from the standards legal norms prevailing in the rest of Morocco. By 1929, there were 72 judicial *jama`a* dispensing legal services to about a third of all Muslim Moroccans. This new system caused problems for Arabs living in Berber areas, and it angered the sultan, who maintained that all areas should be subject to the *shari`a*.

Further, on 16 May 1930, the French put forward the **Berber Dahir** to revamp the Berber legal system in Berber regions. Its most alarming article (number 6 of 8) withdrew legal jurisdiction over crimes committed in Berber areas from the High Sharifian Tribunal and thus placed them outside the purview of the *shari`a*. This attempt led to protests in North Africa and the Middle East and was interpreted as a trick to cut off the Berbers from their Muslim brothers and sisters and convert them to Christianity. The protests were orchestrated by urban nationalists (mostly Arabs), but the overall impact of the Dahir was to provide a context for the cultivation of a nationalist movement and, ironically, to force the French to abolish their Berber Dahir. A Dahir of 8 April 1934 abandoned the goals of the Berber Dahir and placed Berbers under the *shari`a* for all except civil mat-

ters, where customary law and the *jama'a* were maintained. With independence, schools were reorganized, and the so-called Berber Dahir was abolished.

BERBER SPRING (1980). In April 1980, the region of Kabylia was the setting of resistance to the exclusionary and marginalization policies of the government of Algeria. Following the provocative act of cancellation by the governor of the Wilaya of **Tizi Ouzou** of a lecture on Berber poetry that was to be delivered at the University of Tizi Ouzou on 10 March 1980 by **Mouloud Mammeri**, students protested and occupied the university. Students clashed with security forces and the military for two weeks, leading to mass demonstrations throughout the region. The confrontation left 36 protestors dead and hundreds wounded.

These events, known as the *Tafsut* and popularly known as the "Berber Spring" or *Printemps Berbère*, had several political implications for the Berber movement inside and outside Algeria. First, it ushered in Berberism as a political force in postindependence Algeria. The Mouvement Culturel Berbère (MCB) gained substantial impetus against state authorities and also became a secular counterbalance to Islamic politics. This politicization process was also expressed in a series of Berber protests against state policies in Black October 1988, the school boycotts of 1994 and 1995, July 1998, Black Spring 2001 (60 dead, hundreds wounded), and March and April 2002. Second, the Berber Spring produced martyrs whose annual commemoration, as well as for those **Kabyles** who have been killed by state or Islamist forces, informs in a ritual manner the political struggle of the Kabyles against the Algerian state. Finally, it denationalized the Kabyle struggle and lent it regional and global dimensions, notably in the neighboring countries where Berbers reside and among the Berber diaspora in Europe and North America.

BU-ILMAWN. This term, from the word *ilmawn*, meaning "skins," refers to masquerades and carnivals connected with various feasts in North Africa in which a man is dressed up in the skins of the sacrificed animals. In the company of his wife Ti'azza and several Jews and blacks, he beats people with a stick or with the foot of a sacrificed goat or sheep. Bu-ilmawn, also called *bujlud* or *bu-lbtayn* in

Moroccan Arabic, is covered with skins of sacrificed animals and has the horns of the sacrificed animals on his head. Accompanied by musicians, they dance their way from house to house, beating and teasing people in a profane manner and receiving an assortment of gifts from each household. Bu-ilmawn is believed to represent the holiness of the feast and transfers this *baraka* (divine grace) to those with whom he comes in contact. At the same time, he is also teased, pushed about, and often slapped with slippers. In short, he embodies a scapegoat as well as a positive cleanser of evil. The characters and meanings of masquerades differ from region to region. For an interpretation of masquerades in the **High Atlas Mountains**, see Abdellah Hammoudi's ethnography, *The Victim and Its Masks* (1993).

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CANARY ISLANDS. The **Guanches**, now an extinct population and an offshoot of the race of Berbers, were the native inhabitants of the Canary Islands. The Canary Islands form an archipelago in the North Atlantic Ocean facing the Moroccan Atlantic coast and is an autonomous region of Spain. The archipelago consists of seven important islands and some islets. They are Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, the nearest to the Moroccan shores; then come Tenerife and Gran Canaria, while farther westward are Palma, Gomera, and El Hierro. The total area of the islands is about 7,273 square kilometers; their current population is about 1, 635,000. The country in general is mountainous and volcanic; in Tenerife, the Pico de Teide reaches a height of 3,718 meters and towers above other mountains that extend throughout the islands, generally from northeast to southwest. There is no large river, but there are numerous springs and torrents. The fauna differ little from that of Europe, with the exception of the dromedary and the thistle finch, or canary bird. There are extensive forests of pine and laurel, and some tranks reach a gigantic height. The climate of the islands is mild; hence, they are much frequented as winter resorts. The Canary Islands are essentially agricultural. Their economy, though subject to frequent droughts, produces an abundance of fruits, sugarcane, tobacco, bananas, tomatoes, fish, and wines. The most important centers of population are Santa Cruz de

Tenerife, Orotava, and La Laguna on the island of Tenerife; Las Palmas and Arrecife on Gran Canaria; Santa Cruz de la Palma on Palma; and Quia and Valverde on El Hierro.

CAPSIAN. This term refers to the ancient people who occupied North Africa as early 6,000 B.C. They are said to be Berbers who had adopted a Neolithic way of life and culture.

CHAAFI, LIMAN. A Libyan **Tuareg** rebel and leader of the Front Populaire pour la Libération du Niger (FLPA), based in Libya, which launched the first armed attack against **Tchin Tabaraden** in 1982. He was also involved in the 1976 and 1983 coup attempts on President Seyni Kountche in Niger.

CHAFIK, MOHAMED (1926–). Professor Mohamed Chafik is one of the most prominent trailblazers of the Moroccan Berber cultural movement. He was born on 17 September 1926 at Aït Sadden, in the province of Sefrou, Wilaya of Fès. He graduated from the Collège d'Azrou, a Franco-Berber school established in 1927. Later, he received a university diploma in history. In 1959, he became a regional primary education inspector, then general inspector of primary schools in 1963. In 1967, he became head inspector for history and geography before being appointed, in 1970, undersecretary of state for secondary, technical and higher education, and vocational training, a post that he held until 1971. He also worked as secretary of state to the prime minister and in the same year was appointed head of mission to the Royal Cabinet and director of the Royal College. He is a member of the Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco and is an accomplished Arabist. On 14 January 2002, he was appointed by King Mohammed VI rector of the Institut Royal pour la Culture Amazigh (IRCAM).

One of the defining elements in Chafik's intellectual experience was his early recognition that the Moroccan landscape is a set of multiple societies that are in turn composed of diverse histories and communities. His effort to celebrate difference and diversity in Moroccan society, bent on a strict interpretation of pan-Arabist and Islamist ideologies and one that refuted the place and history of Berbers, is thus remarkable. In the 1960s, he wrote a series of articles on the meaning

and significance of Amazigh/Berber culture and its contribution to the national struggle for independence ("From Our Unknown Heritage: A Taxonomy of Amazigh Songs and Dances," *Afaq*, no. 5 [1967], and "From our Unknown Heritage, Poem of National Enthusiasm," *Afaq*, no. 6 [1967]). Among his works of interest are *Underdeveloped Thoughts* (1972), *What the Muezzin Says* (1974), *An Outline of Thirty-Three Centuries of Berber History* (1989), *Forty-Four Berber Lessons* (1991), *Arab-Berber Dictionary in Three Volumes* (1993, 1996, 2000), *Al-llughatu al-amazighiyya: Binyatuha al-llisaniyah* (1999), and *Le dialecte marocain: Espace de confluence entre l'arabe et l'amazighe* and *Pour un Maghreb d'abord Maghrebin* (2000). He also cofounded the cultural Berber magazine *Tifawt* and played a prominent role in the writing and composition of the **Amazigh Manifesto**, a document that was designed to channel Berber grievances and demands outlined in the 1991 **Agadir Charter**.

CHAOUIA. In the southeast of **Kabyle** country live the Chaouia of the **Aurès Mountains**. The Chaouia resemble the **Kabyles** in many ways. Their communities are much like the Kabyle ones, and they too are governed by village-based sections or councils, called *harfiqt*, and both occupy impregnable valleys and mountains. While the Kabyles are peasants and more precisely gardeners, tending fruit trees (olives and figs), the Chaouia's economy, because of the scarcity of arable soil and the dictates of the variable rainfall, is based on a combination of intensive irrigated **agriculture** and livestock raising. Because of the verticality of the Aurès' geography, the Ouled `Abdi and Ouled Daoud take advantage of the wide range of possibilities offered by varying natural zones and different climatic levels. They cultivate cereals in the highlands and in the irrigated lowlands of the oases, practice horticulture, tend fruit trees, raise livestock that involves the transhumance of the animals, and maintain symbiotic commercial relations with the bordering Saharan communities. The name "Chaouia" means "shepherd."

The *harfiqt* (clan) and *`arch* (tribe) are the most basic social units. The *harfqit* bears the name of the ancestor who is the object of an annual ceremony of worship. A distinguishing feature of the Chaouia way of life are the communal granaries (*al-guel`a*), fortified houses with many separate rooms for the different families to store the har-

vests. The *harfiqt* appointed a member of the community to look after the stores during the absences made necessary by the practice of seminomadism. In some cases, the granary could be entrusted to look after itself, being high up on an inaccessible cliff.

The present-day Chaouia country is the ancient **Numidia**, the ancient domain of such Berber kings as Masinissa (238 B.C.–138 B.C.), Jugurtha (160 B.C.–104 B.C.), and Juba I (85 B.C.–46 B.C.) and Juba II (52 B.C.–A.D. 23). Chaouias and Kabyles speak such different dialects of the **Tamazight language** that they cannot readily understand each other. On the northern slopes lies Timgad, a Roman military colony built by Emperor Trajan in A.D. 100. *See also* AGADIR; AURÈS MOUNTAINS; KAHINA AL-; KUSAYLA IBN LEMTEN.

CHAR BOUBBA. This refers to the war fought between 1644 and 1674 by the **Sanhaja** confederation against the invading Bani Hassan Arabs, who reached North Africa from their homeland, Yemen, by the 17th century. It is also known as Mauritania's Thirty Years' War. Reacting to the disruption of their caravan trade interest and routes in the north, the Sanhaja, led by the Lemtuna imam Nassir Eddine, tried to resist the Arab invasion and reclaim Berber standing in the territory, which had steadily been on the decline. The Sanhaja were defeated and were compelled, by the treaty of Tin Yedfad, to give up warfare for the book (the Qur'an), pay tribute (*horma*) and perform various services, and place themselves at a social level below that of their Arab invaders, that is, as Zenaga, or vassals. Over time, the most learned Berbers became marabouts and imams and established religious lodges. The social structure of today's Mauritania reflects the outcome of Char Boubba, at least among the Moors. The Moors are the dominant ethnic group in Mauritania, and the Moorish peoples are in most cases of Arab or Berber origin who speak Hassaniya Arabic and live primarily in the Moroccan Sahara and in Mauritania, particularly in the administrative regions of Adrar, Dekhlet-Nouadhibou, Inchiri, Tagant, Tiris Zemmour, and Trarza. *See also* LANGUAGE.

CHINGUETTI. Located in the Adrar region**,** it is one the oldest and best-known Mauritanian towns. It is a holy city of Islam housing invaluable, centuries-old manuscripts, and it is struggling to preserve

them while becoming slowly engulfed by moving sand. Chinguetti's three major and several private libraries are estimated to contain up to 10,000 manuscripts, some of them unique in the Islamic world.

Chinguetti was built in the third century A.D. as an important caravan stop and commercial center by the **Sanhaja** Confederation, which controlled much of Mauritania until the **Almoravid** conquest in 1076. Under the Almoravids, it remained an important trade center and also acquired a reputation as a preeminent center of Islamic learning, so much so that it came to be viewed, by the 16th century, as the 17th holiest location in all Islam. With the encroachment of European powers and the reorientation of trade routes away from the town and toward European-controlled coastal areas of North Africa, Chinguetti suffered a commercial setback, although as one the major religious center it continued to host a substantial collection of Quranic manuscripts as well as other writings dating back to the founding of the town. At the beginning of French occupation, a fort was built there to serve the French Foreign Legion. By the mid-20th century, the decline continued and desertification threatened the viability of the town and its people. Consequently, Chinguetti's population dropped from 40,000 in the 14th century to about 5,000 today.

CHOUKRI, MOHAMED (1935–2003). He was born on 15 July 1935 in the village of Bni Chiker near the city of Nador in the **Rif** region. He was one of the most original writers in North Africa. To escape hardship, famine, and a tyrannical father, at the age of 11 he left and settled in Tangier and worked in various jobs. In 1955, at the age of 20, he taught himself to read and write. Shortly afterward, he began his writing career.

In the 1970s, he met the American expatriate writer and composer Paul Bowls, who encouraged his writing projects and translated his first novel and autobiography, *al-khubz al hafi* (For Bread Alone), written in 1973. Reminiscent of **Mouloud Feraoun**'s powerful writing style, Choukri describes in stunning details his adolescence during the 1940s illustrated with experiences of vagabondage, prostitution, petty crime, and drug use. Translated into 12 languages and defying all literary rules and religious boundaries in Morocco, his book was banned and would not be available to the Moroccan public until 2000.

In addition to his famous novel *For Bread Alone*, Choukri's stories appeared in various literary magazines, such as *Harper's Bazaar*, *Transatlantic*, and *Antaeus*. His major works include *Le Fou des Roses* (1979), *Tennessee Williams in Tangier* (1979), *The Tent* (1985), *The Inner Market* (1985), *Jean Genet in Tangier* (1990), *Jean Genet et Tennessee Williams à Tanger* (1992), *Streetwise* (1994), *Zoco Chico* (1996), *Paul Bowles: Le reclus de Tanger* (1997), and *Temptation of the White Blackbird* (1998). Choukri died on 13 November 2003.

CITRÖEN, ANDRE. *See* TOURISM.

COMITÉ D'ETUDES BERBÈRES. In order to facilitate the implementation of General Louis-Hubert Lyautey's vision of dealing with Moroccan Berbers, he founded the Comité d'Etudes Berbères in Rabat to systematize research on Berbers by a decision of 9 January 1915. The committee capitalized on the brain trust on Berber problems provided by such key colonial scholars as Maurice LeGlay, Emile Laoust, Mostapha Abés, S. Nehlil, Gaston Loth, S. Biarnay, Gaillard, Henrys, Colonel H. Simon, and Commandant Berriau, among other protectorate officials. The committee focused on the study of Berbers and was concerned with formulating the **Berber Policy**. The journal *Les Archives Berbères* was created, and its first issue appeared in 1915. During the four years of its existence, the journal published the first monograph devoted to a Moroccan Berber tribe and a series of articles on Berber ethnology, customs, and *azerf*, or law. By 1919, much work had been done on **Tamazight**, or Berber, and foundations were laid for research on legal studies, ethnology, and history of the **Middle Atlas** Berbers. Research on Berber society formed the basis of the Dahir of 11 September 1914, a precursor to the full-blown version of the **Berber Dahir** of 16 May 1930. *See also* INSTITUT DES HAUTES ÉTUDES MAROCAINES.

CONGRÈS MONDIAL AMAZIGH (CMA). *See* WORLD AMAZIGH CONGRESS.

COORDINATION DE LA RÉSISTANCE ARMÉE (CRA). Founded on 11 September 1993 by **Mano Dayak**, it includes several

political formations of Niger's **Tuareg** liberation fronts. Under its umbrella of coordination are the Front de Libération de Temust (FLT), Front Patriotique de la Libération du Sahara (FPLS), Armée Révolutionnaire de Libération du Nord du Niger (ARLN), and Front de Libération de l'Aïr et de l'Azawad (FLAA). **Ghissa Ag Boula**, the president of the FLAA, was also the vice president of the CRA. In 1995, the CRA dissolved into the Organisation de la Résistance Armée (ORA) led by Ghissa Ag Boula. In 1995, it signed a peace agreement with the government of Niger. At present, Ghissa Ag Boula is minister of tourism and crafts.

– D –

DAMERGOU. Northwestern area of Damargaram in Niger and a major caravan stop on the Tripoli-Zinder-Kano route. It is home to the Imouzourag and Kel Owey **Tuareg**, who clashed over the control of the region. The Imouzourag protected sedentary farming communities from attacks by the Kel Owey, who traditionally led and escorted all caravans throughout the region. With the advent of French colonial schemes of divide and rule, the Kel Owey ultimately defeated their rivals, the Imouzourag.

DAWEL, AKOLI. A federalist **Tuareg** political leader, he became minister of water resources and official spokesman of the Niger government. Named special envoy in **Aïr** to diffuse the Tuareg revolts in 1992, he was arrested later in the sweeps of suspected Tuareg rebellion supporters by the Nigerien military in **Agadez** and was released only after protests in the National Assembly. He was also president of the Union pour la Démocratie et Progrès Social (UDPS) party headquartered in Agadez as well as leader of the Parti pour l'Unité Nationale et la Démocratie (PUND).

DAYAK, MANO (1949–1995). Internationally renowned **Tuareg** leader, activist, and scholar. He led the **Tuareg rebellion** in **Aïr** as well as the Front de Libération de Temust (FLT). He was killed on his way to peace talks in a plane crash in the Adrar Chirouet region northeast of the Aïr Mountains on 15 December 1995. In April 1995,

Mano's coalition had refused to agree to a peace plan with the government of Niger, and his allies remained opposed to the peace plan and continued to maintain their base of resistance in the Ténéré Desert east of **Agadez**. He was author of *Touareg, la Tragédie*, published in 1992, in which he outlines the Tuareg plight and grievances against the Niger government.

DHU AL-NUN (1033–1095). This refers to the Arabized name of the Banu Azinnun, a Hispano-Berber dynasty of the Party Kings in Toledo (1033–1085) and Valencia (1085–1092). They were members of the Hawwara tribe, which came to Spain in the early days of the Arab conquest and settled in the mountain region of northeastern Toledo. They achieved considerable influence in the towns of Santaver, Huete, and Ulcés. Musa Ibn Zannun took control of the ancient Visigothic capital of Toledo in 888.

During the following two centuries, the Banu Zannun continued to rank among the great Andalusian families. Despite the limitation of their sovereignty, their reign was one of Toledo's most brilliant periods. They firmly organized public administration and finances, consolidated the army, and enlarged their territory at the expense of weaker city-states. In 1065, they conquered Valencia. Their court became the meeting place of poets, scholars, and distinguished theologians, who made Toledo an intellectual center. In 1102, the **Almoravid** army conquered their domain and put an end the Banu Zannun dynasty.

DILA. Known as the Aït Iddila in **Tamazight**, the Dila ***zawiya***, or lodge, was the base for the political aspirations of the Idrassen and other **Sanhaja** groups of the **Middle Atlas Mountains** in the 16th century. The brotherhood was found in 1566 in the area between the High Moulouya Plateau and Khenifra. Abu Bakar (1536–1612), the founder of the lodge and a disciple of the Shadili-**Jazuli** doctrine, was the first saint in a family that had long been recognized for its moral attributes and religious teaching. The family originated from the Mejjat tribe of the Idrassen, which had settled in the 15th century in the area between Tounfit and Midelt. The Dila had moved to the southwest of Khenifra, where they gained recognition as mediators to tribes and religious teachers.

In 1557, the Sa`diyin dynasty (1520–1660) granted the family special status for their religious services with exemption from taxes and corvée. The Dila quickly gained influence over the highlands population, and their religious services gave them new roles. In 1630, they extended their authority over the Andalusians of Salé, and in 1638, they defeated the Sa`diyin forces in a battle near Oued al Abid. In 1640, they took over Meknes and soon after Fès, the Sais plain, and the Gharb, and most of the towns of northern Morocco came under their rule. By 1651, they controlled most of the active commercial routes of central Morocco, and a treaty was signed with the Dutch in the same year.

At the same time, from the southeastern base of the **Tafilalet**, the Alawite Moulay Rachid had begun to consolidate an economic network that allowed him to challenge the Dila political position. In 1649, the city of Fès tried to overthrow the Dila rule, and the notables had invited the Alawite Muhammad Ibn Sharif to assume leadership. The revolt was suppressed. In 1660, Sale rebelled against the Dila, and by 1663, the Dila power was beginning to crumble. During the same period, the death of the Alawite Moulay Ali Al Sharif in 1659 had set off a succession struggle between two of his sons, Moulay Rachid and Moulay Muhammad. Moulay Rachid won the succession battle, and Moulay Muhammad was killed in1664. Soon he embarked on eliminating his serious rivals, a task he achieved in less than a decade. In 1668, he led an expedition against the Dila in which he defeated them and razed the lodges to the ground. Consequently, the immediate families of the Dila were exiled to **Tlemcen**, while the rest of the Dila notables took refuge in Fès. In 1671, Moulay Rachid secured the **Sous** region from **al-Samlali** heirs of Abu Hassoun. *See also* MIDDLE ATLAS MOUNTAINS.

DONATISM. This refers to a North African Christian sect that dates back to the dispute over the election of Caecilian as bishop of Carthage in 312. Donatism was viewed as a heresy by the church. The movement was named after Donatus, primate of **Numidia**, who opposed Caecilian's election**.** Donatists were among the most educated Romanized citizens of Numidia. They believed that the validity of sacraments required that its ministers be in a state of sinlesness.

The church refuted this notion. This resulted in theological and often violent disputes between Donatists and Orthodox Catholics. Since they opposed the religion of the Roman Empire, they also rebelled against its political power. In 337, Emperor Constantine exiled the group's leader to Gaul, and in 412 and 414, they were legally denied ecclesiastical and civil rights. **Augustine** worked against them and weakened the movement. Despite all these obstacles, with the arrival of the Vandals the movement was rejuvenated, and it survived in North Africa until the Arab conquests in the seventh century. Some historians claim that Donatism was one the factors contributing to the demise of Roman power in North Africa. *See also* AUGUSTINE; CHAOUIA.

DORI REBELLION. This refers to the December 1915 rebellion of the **Tuareg** of the Dori area inspired by the **Sanusiyya** leaders in the region at a time when the French were preoccupied with another rebellion in Mossi in Burkina Faso. The uprising also extended to neighboring Songhay areas in Niger, although it did not spread and was crushed in June 1916.

DROUGHTS. The Sahel lies along the southern edge of the Saharan Desert, covering about 4,500 kilometers from Senegal through Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Chad, and blends into the less arid Sudano-Sahel belt on its southern edge. The 50 million people of the Sahel pursue diverse livelihood strategies including **agriculture**, **pastoral nomadism**, fishing, short- and long-distance trading, and a variety of urban occupations. Farming in this region is almost entirely reliant on three months of summer rainfall, except along the banks of the major rivers, lakes, and other seasonal watercourses. The transport infrastructure is, however, poor. There are only three main railway lines, and many smaller towns have been linked to the cities by paved roads only since the 1980s. The Niger and Senegal rivers have provided transport arteries for centuries.

Despite complex economic migration patterns and urban expansion in the 20th century, the vast majority of the region's rural dwellers are dependent on some form of rain-fed agriculture or pastoralism. Some suggest that there are no "normal" rainfall levels in this region, just fluctuating supplies and changing human demand for

water. Three major droughts occurred in the 20th century—in 1910–1916, 1920–1921, 1930–1931, and 1941–1945—and a long period of below-average rainfall (termed "desiccation") began in the late 1960s and continued, with some interruptions, into the 1980s. Absolute minimum rainfall levels were recorded at many stations in 1983 and 1984. The period of poor rainfall in the 1970s struck particularly hard for many Sahelian farmers and pastoralists, causing an estimated 100,000 drought-related deaths.

The devastating impacts of the droughts of the 1968–1974 and those that followed have had cumulative impacts, but these impacts form part of complex patterns of social and economic change, and it is almost impossible to separate the effects of the natural hazard (drought) from other factors that made individuals vulnerable. Vulnerability is an everyday situation for some people but a rare occurrence for others. It is important here to differentiate between meteorological drought—below-average moisture supply—and the effects of changing human land uses and practices. Low rainfall can be coped with if farmers and nomads have diverse livelihood systems or sufficient assets. Famine situations have resulted in aridity where drought conditions have surprised populations that were unprepared for them (as in the 1970s, when 15 years of good rainfall had encouraged many to overinvest in agriculture) and where the possible range of adjustments have been constrained by warfare, social status, or corruption and mismanagement.

The **Tuareg** of **Aïr** suffered the most during the 1970s drought as they were forced to give up their nomadic way of life and settle around boreholes in the vicinity of **Agadez**, where they received food aid and lost about 95 percent of their cattle. Because many nomads became **refugees**, the population of Agadez climbed from 20,000 to 105,000 in less than three years. Another 50,000 Tuareg refugees from Mali migrated to Niger in search of relief. In the 1980s, another cycle of drought and famine devastated Niger as Lake Chad shrunk and the Niger River reached its lowest level since the 1920s. As the drought spread in the 1980s, it is believed that the majority of the population was living on foreign food aid, with some 500,000 people displaced by the drought, most of whom were Tuareg pastoralists.

In Mali, in contrast to the 1968–1974 droughts, the 1984–1985 drought afflicted the entire country. Most of those concerned were Tuareg and Maure pastoralists. It affected primarily the regions of Gao, Kidal, and Timbuktu. As a result, famine seriously affected the nomads more than it did the sedentary. It is estimated that about 100,000 people perished within the three regions. Livestock losses in the Gao region were estimated at 50 percent. The return of normal rains in 1986 ended the drought. As a result of these recurrent droughts, Mali, Niger and neighboring Saharan states established the Comité Inter-Etats pour La Lutte Contre la Sècheresse (CILSS). This organization set up the Sahel Institute based in Bamako, the capital of Mali.

– E –

EMIGRATION. Because of the low economic productivity of Berber country, social inequities, and the paradoxes of colonialism, emigration has been a major phenomenon in Berber life. During French and Spanish colonialism, there was internal and external emigration by Berbers to major internal towns and cities and to Europe, especially Spain and France. There were several thousand Algerians (including **Kabyles**) working in France before World War I, and their numbers, as well as those of other North Africans, increased during and after the war. In addition to providing soldiers, France, for instance, imported several thousand Algerians to replace French workers sent to the war lines. From 1950s to the 1970s, thousands of Berbers emigrated to Belgium, France, Holland, and Germany to provide labor for the reconstruction of western Europe after World War II. There they constitute vibrant migrant communities and have since provided the balance of payment of their sending countries with massive remittances to keep them afloat.

The emigrant second generation (called Beurs in France), with its Berber dimension, has been a cultural and political force in many European countries. As cultural brokers between Europe and Berber country, they are very active in advocating better living conditions for emigrants in host countries and have been very critical of the sentiments and attitudes of North African and sub-Saharan governments toward Berber culture and **language** and the treatment of Tuareg

refugees. The second generation has also been very successful in using mobile technology, especially the Internet, to promote Berber transnational issues and to forge a sense of global community among Berbers. Working in democratic Europe, they have been instrumental in creating the **World Amazigh Congress** and in experimenting with Berber writing and music, resulting in a syncretic and powerful presence of all that is Berber on a world stage. *See also* MOZABITES; SOUS.

ERG. This term refers to large sand dune formations.

ETTEBEL. A **Tuareg** term meaning "drum." It is the symbol of authority or sovereignty of all supreme chiefs, specifically the *amenukal*, whose drum, or group, was the largest. This symbolized his authority over the entire federation of Tuareg tribes. The word *ettebel* has many meanings. It is used to describe the drum group but denotes not only "authority" and "sovereignty" but also the idea of "belonging" in the context of lineage membership and descent and the various political, social, and economic obligations and ties of subordination and dependency that shape an individual's social position. One is said to be *agg ettebel*, or "son of the sovereignty," when one belongs to one of the matrilineages from which the *amenukal* must be chosen according to customary rules.

– F –

FADHMA N'SOUMER (1830–1863). Her real name is Fadhma Sid Ahmed, and she is also known as Lalla Fadhma. In the tradition of **al-Kahina** who resisted the Arab invasion of North Africa in the seventh century, Fadhma led resistance against the French. She was born to a marabout family, the **Rahmaniya** order, in the Werja village in Greater Kabylia in 1830, the same year the French launched their conquest of Algeria. At an early age, she memorized the Qur'an and also taught the Quranic school of her village. She is said to be of exceptional intelligence and had the gift of a seer. In 1850 and before the French assault on **Kabylia**, she is said to have had a vision in which a foreign army led an assault on her native land, Kabylia. Her

account of the vision moved people to the point that they were preparing for a jihad against the French.

In 1830, the French occupied Algiers, and 1831, they were kept away from Kabylia. In 1837, they finally succeeded in pushing back the Kabyles and built forts and bases for operations in the region. On 7 April 1854, the French assault on parts of Kabylia was met by a jihad organized by Fadhma. Fadhma's organization defeated the well-armed French troops in the battle of Oued Sebaou. During this battle, organized by Mohamed El Amdjed Ibn Abdelmalek (known also as Boubaghla), Fadhma led an army of men and **women**, and she dealt the French a painful defeat. Her victory was celebrated throughout Kabylia. The mosques, **zawiyas**, and Quranic schools erupted into chants of praise in honor of the heroine of the Djurdjura Mountains. The French were forced to retreat, only to return for the 18–20 July 1854 battle of Tachekrirt. After two days of heavy fighting, the French forces were, once again, decimated by Fadhma and her army.

In 1857, the French returned and this time with a much reinforced and superior military power, and despite the heroic resistance of the Kabyles and Fadhma, they fell to the superior weaponry of the French. In 1857, Fadhma was arrested and imprisoned in Tablat, where she died in 1863. She was 33 years old. Her heroic exploits are still celebrated in Kabyle stories, chants, and poems, making her a potent symbol of freedom and resistance against all forms of domination and colonization. In 1994, the Algerian state reburied her remains in the Carré des Martyrs cemetery (El Alia), where prominent and historic leaders of Algerian nationalism rest.

FATIMIDS (910–1171). The Fatimid dynasty ruled Ifriqya from 910 until their departure for Egypt in 973. The dynasty was founded by the Syrian Said Ibn Hussein, who later took the name `Ubayd Allah. `Ubayd Allah belonged to a militant branch of the Shi`a sect called Isma`ilis. Urged by `Ubayd Allah, the Kutama Berbers of eastern Algeria, who were disgruntled with the Aghlabid rule, acknowledged `Ubayda as the **Mahdi** (divinely guided one) and the caliph. The Aghlabids' defeat at the hands of the Kutama paved the way for `Ubayda Allah's rise to authority. The decision to name itself "Fatimid" indicated the dynasty's search for legitimacy by claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad by way of his daughter Fatima

Azzahra and her husband, Ali Ibn Abi Talib, who was the fourth caliph and cousin of the Prophet. Soon his control extended all over the Maghrib, which he governed from his newly founded capital, Mahdiya, named after him.

Its rulers' choice of the title "caliph" reflected their wish to challenge the supremacy of the caliphs as the sole leaders of Islam. They launched attacks against Abbasid territories to the east. After several internal and external challenges, especially the Umayyad and their Zanata allies, the **Zirids**, in the 960s the Fatimids successfully entered Egypt, where they founded the city of al-Qahira (Cairo) in 969. They continued their conquest of the east until they ruled a vast realm stretching from Tunisia through Sicily to the Levant. In 1171, Salah al-Dine (Saladin) attached Egypt to the Abbasid caliphate, and Egypt returned to the Sunni realm of Islam, putting an end to the Fatimids.

FERAOUN, MOULOUD (1913–1962). A **Kabyle** writer whose real name is Aït Chaabane Mouloud Feraoun. Feraoun was born on 8 March 1913 in Tizi Hibel in Greater Kabylia. Although he was born to a poor peasant family, he managed to get through the French school system and to earn a diploma at the Bouzaréah Normal School (Teachers College) in Algiers. After graduation, he returned to his native village as an elementary school teacher and married his cousin. In 1947, he was assigned to Taourirt Moussa and became a school principal in 1952.

Feraoun was one of the most prolific francophone writers of his generation. In all his works, he described Kabyle everyday life and times, highlighting the universality of the human condition. He published three novels, a series of essays, and a translation of the poems of the prominent Kabyle poet, Si Mohand. His novels are *Le fils du pauvre* (1950), *La terre et le Sang* (1953), and *Les chemins qui montent*. His first novel, *Le fils du pauvre*, is considered a masterpiece of Algerian literature. In it, using a romantic writing style and based on his village life story, he describes the ups and downs of growing up in Kabylia. In 1954, he published a series of essays entitled *Jours de Kabylie*, and his translation of *Les poèmes de Si Mohand* appeared in 1960. In addition, three posthumous works include *Journal 1955–1962* (1962), *Les lettres à ses amis* (1968), and an unfinished novel that he began writing in 1959, *L'anniversaire* (1972). On 15

March 1962, Feraoun as well as five of his colleagues were assassinated by a commando of the Organisation armée secrète (OAS), an extremist organization of the French settlers in Algeria.

FEZZAN-BORNU ROUTE. One of the oldest trans-Saharan caravan routes that ran from **Tripolitania** through the Fezzan to Lake Chad. For centuries, it had retained its primacy, and as late as the 1820s, it was the one preferred by the Oudney–Clapperton–Denham expedition. But in the following decades, it became increasingly unsafe for caravans because of Toubou and **Tuareg** bandits, with the result that by the middle of the century it had been eclipsed by the more westerly route that ran through Ghadames, Ghat, and Zinder to Kano.

FIHROUN (1885–1916). *Amenukal* of the Ouilliminden, who led a revolt against the French from 1912 to 1916. In 1914, he joined the Grand **Sanusiyya** call for jihad in Fezzan; he was arrested in October of the same year and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment and 20 years of exile and exiled to **Timbuktu**. He skillfully managed to escape from prison in **Gao** and then organized a jihad against the French. He marched on Filingue, an important market and Hausa town, but his assault was short lived, as the French forces crushed his siege, and Firhoun died in 1916. After his death, the people of **Aïr** would revolt under the direction of another **Tuareg** supreme chief, **Kaoucen**.

FIRNAS IBN `ABBAS (?–887). He was an Andalusian scholar of Berber origin and the official court poet under three Umayyad emirs (796–886). He was also possessed of remarkable talent in fields related to mathematics, astronomy, and physics. In Ibn Hayyan's *Muqtabis*, it is reported that Firnas acquainted the scholars of his country with the system of Arabic numerals, the knowledge of which he acquired on a voyage to Iraq. He built for his royal patrons a mechanical clock and armillary sphere. He also constructed a human-sized gear for flying and flew it a few seconds in the air; he fell down safely to the ground.

FLATTERS EXPEDITION (1880–1881). This expedition was named after Lieutenant Colonel Paul Flatters, who led the first large-scale

reconnaissance into the Sahara. He attended St.-Cyr and was a lieutenant in the Third Zouaves. He was an Arabist and served in the Bureaux Arabes. In November 1880, the expedition left Laghouat, under the command of Colonel Flatters, to explore the unconquered terrain south of Ouargala and to survey a route through Ahaggar for building a transcontinental railway, the Trans-Saharan, from Algiers to the Sudan. The expedition consisted of 92 men (French officers and engineers, Arab soldiers, and Arab Chaamba guides and cameleers). On 16 February, as they moved deeper into Ahaggar, **Tuareg**, waiting in ambush, charged one of the columns and slaughtered many members of the group. For the 40 desperate survivors, there was no alternative but to face an impossible trek back to the nearest French post, which was about 750 kilometers to the north. In addition, these starved men were fed dates mixed with a poisonous plant that acted as a nervous stimulant, rendering a person delirious. Following Flatters's massacre in February and intermittent skirmishes with the Tuareg, the survivors staggered relentlessly northward. They were starved and in constant search of water and food; many perished because of suicide and cannibalism.

The French interest in the Tuareg, however, was renewed in 1897 when the Taytok raided the Arab Chaamba, who were French allies and auxiliaries, at Hassi Inifel. The real threat to Tuareg independence came in 1899 when the French Flamand-Pein expedition pushed southward to occupy In Salah, followed shortly by the occupation of the Tidikelt, Touat, and Guerrara oases. The French occupation of these oasis towns and villages seriously imperiled the Ahaggar communities and would spell the beginning of the end of their access to goods and services of oasis dwellers. The reaction of the Tuareg to French encroachment was to raid the camps of Arabs under French authority and pillage the oases of Tidikelt, Touat, Aoulef, and Akabil. The pillaging and exactions, combined with internal Tuareg disputes over traditional leadership roles, provoked French reprisals that culminated in the punitive expedition of Lieutenant Cottenest.

Lieutenant Colonel Flatters authored *Histoire ancienne du Nord de l'Afrique avant la conquête des Arabes* (1863) and *Histoire de la géographie et géologie de la province de Constantine* (1865). *See also* TIT, BATTLE OF.

FONA. Rebel chief and warrior of the Kel Tafidet. He held sway over all the Kel Owey of the east and participated in anti-French resistance in **Aïr**, **Damergou**, and Tibesti. He led the resistance in Tibesti and was one of the most prominent members of the **Kaoucen** revolt. In 1918, he also took part in the assault on Fachi. Finally, he was arrested and imprisoned in Kano, Nigeria, then relocated to Zinder, dying in prison in Niamey.

FOUCAULD, CHARLES DE (1858–1916). *See* TAMANRASSET.

FRONT DE LIBÉRATION DE L'AÏR ET DE L'AZAWAD (FLAA). One of the major **Tuareg** liberation fronts, from which many factions splintered in 1993 because of French and Algerian influences, specifically the **Armée Révolutionnaire de Libération du Nord Niger (**ARLN) and the **Front de Libération de Temust** (FLT). Led by **Ghissa Ag Boula**, its historic leader and also former vice president of the rebel coordination group, the **Coordination de la Résistance Armée (CRA),** the front claims to represent both **Aïr** and Azawak. It was created by young Tuaregs in 1991 in response to the government of Niger, which failed to withdraw its armed forces from the region and to establish a decentralized federal system in the country. In 1993, the FLAA signed a peace agreement that resulted in an exchange of prisoners and a long period of peace in Niger.

FRONT DE LIBÉRATION DE L'AZAWAD (FPLA). Tuareg movement founded by Rhissag Sidi Mohammed in Mali in 1990. The FPLA rejected the proposal of the Malian government during the national conference in 1992 in response to the Tuareg claims for autonomy in the North. The FPLA led a struggle for federalism and autonomous existence in the north of Mali. The FPLA's position on independence was supported by most of the representatives of Tuareg **refugees** in Mauritania and Algeria. A clash with the **Front Islamique Arabe de l'Azaouad** (FIAA) led to fraternal warfare and political fragmentation between the two Tuaregs communities.

FRONT DE LIBÉRATION DE TEMUST (FLT). Tuareg liberation group operating in the Temust area created after the splintering of the **Front de Libération de l'Aïr et de l'Azawad (**FLAA) in August

1993. “Temust” in Tuareg means “culture.” Led by the late **Mano Dayak**, it was part of the coalition of various Tuareg resistance groups currently combined under the **Coordination de la Résistance Armée (CRA)**. In April 1995, the FLT refused to agree to a peace agreement with the government of Niger that was signed by another Tuareg coalition, l’Organisation de la Résistance Armée (ORA). The FLT and its allies remained opposed to the peace agreement and continued to maintain its base of resistance in the Ténéré Desert east of **Agadez**.

FRONT DES FORCES SOCIALISTES (FFS). This is an opposition party founded by **Hocine Aït Ahmed** and Mohand Ou Lhaj in 1963 to represent and defend essentially Berber civil and political rights. It resisted President Ahmed Ben Bella’s one-party rule and eventually led to a **Kabyle** insurrection against the central government in 1963. In its early development stages, the party suffered when Mohand Ou Lhaj reconciled with Ben Bella and Aït Ahmed was captured and condemned to death. Later, Aït Ahmed’s sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In 1966, he escaped from prison and took refuge in France and Switzerland. In 1989, he returned to Algeria, and the FFS was legalized as a consequence of the new electoral reforms enacted in 1989.

The FFS continues to be a Berber-based party and has militated for official status for **Tamazight** (the Berber **language**) and for a secular, pluralist Algerian society. The FFS has also called for greater autonomy for Berber-dominated regions and more Berber input in central policymaking. The Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), which has controlled Algeria’s government since independence, has excluded Berbers from high-ranking positions within the party and enacted anti-Berber policies, such as the 1990 Arabization Law. In 1989, another Berber-dominated party, the **Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocracie (RCD)**, and the FFS jointly formed the Mouvement Culturel Berbère (MCB) as an umbrella organization under which the two parties undertake joint action to promote Berber rights and temper the anti-Berber Islamist positions in Algerian politics. In the first multiparty parliamentary elections of June 1997, the FFS captured 20 seats out of a 380-member National People’s Assembly (*al majlis al cha`bi al watani*). *See also* BERBERIST CRISIS.

FRONT ISLAMIQUE ARABE DE L'AZAOUAD (FIAA). A rebel group made up of **Tuareg** and Maures and established by Zahabi Ould Sid Mohammed. It was created in 1991during the negotiations of Tamanrasset, Algeria, in response to the persecution and repression of Tuaregs and Maures in **Gao** and **Timbuktu**, Mali. The FIAA participated in the negotiations with the **Front Populaire de Libération de l'Azouad** (FPLA) and the **Mouvements et Fronts Unifiés de l'Azaouad** (MFUA) at the National Conferences of 1991 and 1992. The FIAA was supported by Algeria and recognized by Mauritania. The bulk of its membership bases had an Islamic and Arab orientation, with a large number of **refugees** in Algeria and Mauritania. During 1990–1995, the FIAA continued its military operations in the north of Mali. At the same time, it was entangled in conflict with other Tuareg rebel groups. It was also accused of perpetrating violence and running a campaign of intimidation in southeastern Mali.

FRONT PATRIOTIQUE DE LIBÉRATION DU SAHARA (FPLS). It emerged after the breakup of the **Front de Libération de l'Aïr et de l'Azawad** (FLAA) in 1994. It claims sovereignty over Niger's Saharan regions. Headed by Mohammad Anako, it operates in the same region as the **Armée Révolutionnaire de Libération du Nord Niger** (ARLN).

FRONT POPULAIRE DE LIBÉRATION DE L'AZAOUAD (FPLA). A **Tuareg** rebel movement, based in Mauritania, that launched military attacks in the north of Mali in 1991 after the 26 March coup d'état. It was founded and led by Rhissa Sidi Mohamed in 1990. He refused to sign the proposal of the Malian government during the **National Pact** in 1992 in response to the Tuareg demands of autonomy in the north of the country, although representatives of **refugees** in Algeria and Mauritania supported it. He later agreed to support the National Pact. The FLPA is a splinter group that broke away from the Movement Populaire de l'Azaouad (MPA). The FLPA was also consumed by internal struggles with the **Front Islamique Arab de l'Azaouad** (FIAA).

FRONT POPULAIRE POUR LA LIBÉRATION DU NIGER (FPLN). A major dissident group established with the objective of

overthrowing President Seyni Kountche of Niger. Led by Abdoulaye Diori, the son of ex-President Hamani Diori, it was responsible for an armed attack at **Tchin Tabaraden** by 14 Libyan-trained Tuareg. The rebels attempted to seize arms and ammunition for use in further planned raids by the local Tuareg population. This attack was defeated by the national army. The FPLN had its headquarters in Libya and a coordinating office in **Tamanrasset** in Algeria. In the 1990s, several members of the FPLN joined the **Tuareg rebellion**.

FRONT POUR LA LIBÉRATION DE L'AZAOUAD (FLA). Tuareg umbrella political movement founded in December 1991 at el-Meniaa, Algeria, under the name of the Front Unifié pour la Defense de l'Azaouad (FUDA). It changed its name to Mouvements et Fronts Unifiés de l'Azaouad (MFUA) and finally adopted its current label in 1992 at a congress in Timbuktu. The FLA became the principal negotiating body between the government of Mali and the Tuareg during the national conferences of 1991–1992.

– G –

GAO (CITY). It is the capital of the region of **Gao**. The town was established around A.D. 650 and was the capital of the Songhay Empire, which was invaded by the Moroccans in 1591. Today, it is a commercial center of 55,000 people and the terminus for river transportation coming from Mopti and Koulikoro. It is also the terminus for road transport coming and going across the Sahara from Algeria and over the paved road from Mopti in the west.

GAO (REGION). A region in Mali. The bulk of it is desert, and it once composed two-thirds of the total area of Mali. In 1977, the northwestern part of Gao was turned into the region of **Timbuktu**. In 1991, the *cercle* of **Kidal** was separated as an autonomous region. The total area of the Gao region is 170,572 square kilometers. Its population of 495,178 lives along the Niger River. The population is primarily Songhay, **Tuareg**, Maure, and Peul. Prior to the 1968–1974 **droughts**, the region boasted one million head of cattle and about two million goats and sheep. The droughts killed 50 percent of the herds. In

1974, about 60,000 **refugees** sought shelter and aid in camps set up in Gao by the government and foreign aid donors. The Gao and Timbuktu regions were the most seriously devastated by the 1984–1985 droughts.

GARAMANTES. *See* TASSILI N'AJJER.

GHALI, IYAD AG. A **Tuareg** political figure and founder of the **Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad** (MPA). He led a daring assault on Menaka prison on 29 June 1990 to free fellow Tuareg from Niger. He was a key participant in the national conference negotiations in 1991 and 1992, which resulted in the **National Pact** of 12 April 1992.

GLAWA. They constitute one of the minor branches of the **Masmuda** family of Berber tribes, with a vast sphere of influence stretching southeastward from Marrakech across the **High Atlas** range into the Dadès and Dar`a oases. Although they do not appear in the history of the south until the middle of the 20th century, Glawa chieftains used their tribal territory and a policy of calculated loyalty to ascend to key positions in the state. The first to follow this path, at the time when Sultan Mohamed Ibn `Abdurrahman (1859–1873) after his defeat by the Spanish was confronted with revolts everywhere in the country, was one Mohamed al-Ibibat, who from his stronghold in Telouet controlled the passes on the important road from Marrakech toward the Sahara. In the midst of tribal insurrections and after careful weighing of his options, he joined the forces of the central government and in recognition of his services had his de facto control officially recognized.

His successor in the leadership, his son Madani Glawi (1860–1918), followed the same policy of calculated loyalty and began to extend the Glawa control over a larger region until 1893 when the Glawa were organized on a comparable scale to the other grand caids, such as Goundafi and Mtouggui. In 1893, Madani allied himself with Sultan Moulay Hassan I (1873–1894), who was on a *mahalla*, or expedition, collecting taxes; he was appointed *khalifa* for a vast region encompassing Tudgha, **Tafilalet**, and Fayja. In recognition of his assistance and hospitality, the sultan left one of the new 77-millimeter Krupp cannons and some mortars to be sent on later

when the snow cleared, but these were never sent on and instead were used by Madani to advance his interests and set up on major strategic points a kasbah for a caid (local government officer in charge of the maintenance of law and order, the collection of taxes, and the enlistment of troops) of his own choosing. With his support, Moulay `Abd al-Hafiz, the brother of Sultan Mulay `Abd al-`Aziz (1894–1903) and his bitter enemy, manipulated the threads of a revolt that led to the sultan's deposition and, a year later, to the ascension of Moulay `Abd al-Hafiz to the throne. In reward, Madani served as minister of war (1907) and vizier (1909), from which he amassed more power and wealth in terms of money, land, and water rights. Sultan Moulay `Abd al-Hafiz was pressured by the French to break his relations with the Glawa, whose links with the resistant al-Hiba may have seemed disturbing and whose exactions on the populations had contributed to the rural revolts of 1911. Afterward, Madani and Thami reconciled with the French Protectorate, which quickly realized how difficult it would be to rule the mountain tribes who stood against the French without the assistance of Glawa.

On Madani's death in 1918, his brother Thami took his succession and was appointed pasha of Marrakech, an office usually reserved for a member of the reigning dynasty, which propped him up to the highest rank of state dignitaries. Ignoring the theoretical sovereignty of Sultan Moulay Youssef (1913–1927), al-Hajj Thami al-Glawi dedicated his time and life to the French cause. The French "policy of grand caids" allowed Thami, legitimately or not, to bring more landholdings and more tribes under his domain, resulting in the control of about one-eighth of Morocco. In 1958, when his holdings were finally sequestered, Thami al-Glawi owned 11,400 hectares of irrigated land plus 660,000 olive trees in the Haouz of Marrakech alone, to say nothing of his other properties and investments in the Dar`a and Dadès oases, Rabat, Casablanca, and Tanger. In the Haouz, the Glawa family had title to 16,000 irrigated hectares and title to 25,000 hectares. They also had industrial investments of nearly two billion francs in 1956. The Glawa wealth was made possible by two major factors: the substitution of the Makhzan system of legitimate rural taxation around 1860–1870 by a heavier taxation system that bankrupted the populace and later the protectorate policy established by General Louis-Hubert Lyautey that relied on Glawa and other grand

caids and notables to administer the south for the French. In both cases, the Glawa and the French focused on their interests and neglected the plight of those being oppressed (Pascon 1977, 299–300).

Because of his position and role in the colonial project, Thami was the spokesman of the conservative elements, the big landed families or notables and a number of several religious lodges who saw in him the protector of their economic interests that they harvested from their alliance with the French regime. With such close allies as `Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, the head of the influential Kattaniyya brotherhood and a sworn enemy of the Alawite dynasty, Thami stood against the nationalist currents fighting for independence. Determined to bring about the downfall of Sultan Mohamed V (1927–1961) and his alliance with the nationalists, Thami created an "Opposition and Reform Movement of the Pashas and Caids," which was to act as the instrument of the policy of force adopted by the Protectorate authorities. In May 1953, his movement submitted a petition to the French government requesting that the sultan be deposed and sent into exile. In his place, they proposed his more compliant uncle Mohamed Ibn `Arafa. This move outraged the nationalists and the populace. Instead of being forgotten, the exiled sultan became the symbol of the nation's struggle for independence.

When Sultan Moulay Mohamed V returned from exile in 1955, Thami al-Glawi, who was dying of cancer, prostrated himself at his feet and swore allegiance. Three months later, at 83 years of age, he died, and all that has remained of the Glawa extravagance are the crumbling kasbahs of Telouet and the environs where once Glawa grand caids resided and from which they despotically and brutally ruled a vast territory. The family is now rehabilitated, although they are still subject to some restrictions imposed on their activities, and Telouet, the *chef lieu* of Glawa, remains somewhat off limits.

GOUNDAM. A relatively large *cercle* of the **Timbuktu** region bordering on the Mauritanian frontier. Its population of 20,000 is made up of **Tuareg** and Maure nomads, Songhay farmers, and Bozo fishermen. During the Songhay Empire, Goundam was a thriving town. It fell to the Moroccan invasion of 1591 and was later occupied by the Fulani and Tuareg. Many refugees from the **drought** have been settled as farmers along the shores of Lake Faguibine to the north of Goundam.

GOURMA-RHAROUS. A town located on the right bank of the Niger River, it has seven *arrondissements*. It is a *cercle* of the **Timbuktu** region. It covers an area of 50,000 square kilometers and is situated in the eastern part of Timbuktu region. Since 1999, the *cercle* of Gourma-Rharous is composed of 37 villages and 147 settlements and has been divided into nine rural communes. Its population is about 100,000 and consists primarily of **Tuareg** and Maure nomads and Songhay farmers. The *chef lieu* is Gourma-Rharous, which has a population of about 3,000. The *cercle* is suitable for grazing goats, sheep, and camels. A few cattle are also raised. Gossi, located in the center of Gourma, is a water hole used by Tuareg nomads. In the late 1970s, **refugees** from the **drought** were settled in Gossi so they could farm and practice flood **agriculture** around the seasonal lake.

GUANCHES. They were the native peoples of the **Canary Islands** before the French, Portuguese, and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations prior to the discovery of America. They were related to the Berbers of the adjacent mainland, spoke a variant of the Berber **language**, and retained their Neolithic culture. The Canary archipelago is composed of seven islands, and it is only about 100 kilometers off the Moroccan Atlantic shore. Its latitude is tropical, and the climate is hot and relatively dry. Tenerife and Gran Canaria are the largest and highest islands and had the largest population densities before the coming of the Europeans.

Their ancestors had come to the Canaries from the African mainland over a period of many centuries, starting no earlier than the second millennium B.C. and the last arriving no later than the first centuries A.D. The Guanches were seafaring people. As Europe began its march to world hegemony in the 15th century, an estimated 80,000 Guanches resisted the European initial sailing to the New World until the first quarter of the 16th century. By 1520, European military technology, combined with the devastating epidemics such as bubonic plague and pneumonia brought by the conquistadores and enslavement and deportation of natives, led to the extinction of the Guanches. Today, Guanche genes must survive among the inhabitants of the Canaries, the Iberian Peninsula, Africa, and the Americas.

– H –

HAFSIDS (1236–1574). A dynasty in Tunisia, eastern Algeria, and Libya named after its ancestor Abu Hafs `Umar (1090–1176), a leader of the Berber Hintata tribe in the **High Atlas Mountains** and one of the first adepts of the **Almohad** doctrine. It was reinforced by his grandson Abu Zakariya (1228–1249), Almohad governor of Tunis, who a few years after his appointment declared his independence. It had a strong army and a smooth bureaucratic system and maintained a profitable trade with the Italian city-states. Under Sultan Ahmed (1542–1562), the Hafsid realm continued to shrink in the protracted warfare between Spain and the Ottoman Empire. After several Ottoman attempts, in 1574, the Ottoman army reconquered Tunis and put an end to Hamida's rule. Ottoman sovereignty over the central Maghrib from Oran eastward was established for three centuries—that is, until the arrival of the French in 1830.

HA-MIM. His full name was Hamin Ibn Man Allah Ibn Hafid al-Muftari. He was a Berber prophet among the Ghommara tribe in the **Rif**. He preached a new version of Islam with a Berber Qur'an and modifications of the five pillars. His reformed Islamic practices consisted of two daily prayers, a weekly fast day, three to 10 days of fast during the month of Ramadan, almsgiving, and no pilgrimage. Eating fish and bird eggs was forbidden, as was eating animal heads, but eating wild animals (except the boar) was permitted. Ha-mim started preaching in 925 and died in battle with Masmuda in 927–928.

HAMMADIDS (1014–1152). A **Sanhaja** dynasty in present-day Algeria that had branched off from the **Zirids** of al-Qayrawan. Its founder, Hammad Ibn Buluggin, was put in charge by his nephew, the Zirid ruler al-Mansur, of the fortified town of Ashir and the western sections of the Zirid realm. The Hammadid dynasty reached its zenith at the beginning of the 12th century under the rule of al-Nasir and al-Mansur. By 1017, the Hammadids had gained full independence from the Zirids. After taking control of Algiers, Miliana, Nigaus, Hamza, and Constantine, al-Nasir pushed eastward and established influence on the coast from Sfax over Susa to Tripoli and advanced southward far into the Sahara. He built Bougie and made it his second capital,

named after him, al-Nasiriya. Under his son al-Mansur, the Hammadids took control of **Tlemcen**, stopping the **Almoravid** advance (1103–1104). His son al-`Aziz (1104–1121) occupied Jerba and pushed the Arabs from the Hodna. Under Yahya (1122–1153), the Hammadids' power collapsed as Berber tribes, Norman invasions, and Banu Hilal Arabs challenged the weakened Hammadids. Finally, the **Almohad** army took Algiers and defeated Yahya's forces at the gates of Bijaia. Yahya surrendered in 1152 and died in exile in Salé in 1163.

HARATINE. *See* **IZEGGAGHEN.**

HIGH ATLAS MOUNTAINS. The Atlas Mountains are a series of mountain ranges that stretch from west to east across North Africa. They run for 1,931 kilometers from the Moroccan city of **Agadir** in the southwest to the Tunisian capital of Tunis in the northeast. The two major parts of the Atlas Mountains are the northern and southern sections. The northern section is formed by the Tell Atlas, which receives enough rainfall to bear fine forests. The southern section, which is subject to desert influences, is called the Saharan Atlas. To the west and east of these mountain ranges lie the High Atlas and the **Aurès Mountains**, respectively. The highest point of the Atlas Mountains culminates in Morocco at Jbel Toubkal, which has an elevation of 4,165 meters and many other peaks above 3,000 meters.

The High Atlas Mountains of Morocco, in turn, consist of eastern and western High Atlas regions. It is a highly complex region made up of different zones with variations, both in altitude and in annual precipitation. Precipitation is concentrated in the winter months, ranging from about 400 millimeters in the foothills to 800 millimeters in the higher valleys. Much of the precipitation falls as snow between October and March and can produce an important cover down to about 1,500 meters. The region is also subject to intense and short-duration rain during the summer that can be destructive. The High Atlas is home to a diverse Berber population whose mixed economy is based on **pastoral nomadism** and **agriculture**. This population includes several Berber confederations, such as the Aït Atta n'Oumalou, Aït Yaflman, Aït Saghrouchene, Bni Ouarain, sections of the Aït Oumalou, Rheraya, Aït Mghran, Aït Wawzwit, Glawa, Goundafa, and Mtuggua. The southern slopes of the High Atlas,

made of parts of the Anti-Atlas and the Sahara, constitute the land of the Aït Atta of the Sahara. Similar to the **Middle Atlas** region, their livelihoods are derived from livestock production, intensive agriculture and arboriculture, and off-farm income generated by **tourism** and **emigration** revenues. *See also* AURÈS MOUNTAINS; KABYLES; RIF; SOUS.

– I –

IBADHIYYAH. *See* KHARIJISM; MOZABITES.

IBN BATTUTA MUHAMMAD IBN `ABD ALLAH (1304–1367/1369)**. He was a world traveler and author of a renowned travel account (*al-rihla*). His full name is Shams al-Dine Abu `Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yusuf al-Lawati al Tanji. The Lawata are a branch of the **Zanata confederation. He was born in Tangier, where at the age of 20 he set out on the first of many world voyages. He undertook four times the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and on these occasions visited Algeria, **al-Andalus**, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Anatolia, Iraq, Persia, and the Crimea. One of his trips took him to Constantinople, from where he proceeded into southern Russia and then into India across Bukhara, Samarqand, and Afghanistan. He held the office of *qadi* (judge) in Delhi for about 10 years, then journeyed to Bengal, Sri Lanka, the East Indies and further on to China as far as Canton and returned to Arabia via Sumatra and Malaysia. His last trip took him deep into Africa, to **Timbuktu**, and across the Sahara as far as the Niger River.

After about 26 years of exploration, he settled in his native country of Morocco and had the account of his travels put into literary form by Ibn Juzzay, a secretary of the chancellery of the **Marinid** Sultan Abu `Inan court in Fès. This account, *Tuhfat al-Nuzzar fi Ghara'ibi al-Amsar wa 'A`jab al-Asfar* (The Gift of Seeing Rare Sights and Wonders of Traveling), provides topographical descriptions, ethnographic details, and economic aspects of the places, peoples, and cultures Ibn Battuta encountered. In 1929, H. A. R. Gibb was the first to translate an English version of selected sections of Ibn Battuta's *al- rihla* under the title "*Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and*

Africa, 1325–1354," then followed by the translation of the complete work in 1962. In 1990, Ross E. Dunn published a book about the life and times of Ibn Battuta, not a translation, titled *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century*. Ibn Battuta is said to have traveled over land and sea to 44 modern countries, and in so doing he covered 120,700 kilometers, a remarkable achievement for any medieval traveler. His travels represent the longest journey overland before the invention of the steam engine. He died in 1367 or 1369 in Fès.

IBN KHALDUN `ABD AL-RAHMAN (1332–1406). One of the most brilliant social thinkers ever produced in the Maghrib and also undoubtedly one of the most famous figures from the **Marinid** period. His theories about society and political development have been of great value to contemporary concepts of philosophy of history and sociology. The complete title of Ibn Khaldun's monumental work is *Kitab al-`Ibar wa Diwan al-Mubtada' wa l-Kahbar fi Ayyam al-`Arab wa l`Ajam wa l-Barbar wa man Asharahum min Dhawi al-Sultan* (Book of Advice and First Council and Information about the Days of the Arabs, the Non-Arabs, and the Berbers and Their Relations with the Greatest Sultans). The prolegomena to this work, *al-muqaddimah*, provides a theoretical explanation for the historical rise and fall of empires that has been the primary reason for Ibn Khaldun's fame in the contemporary era.

Considered to be the historian of the Berbers, Ibn Khaldun, in his *History of the Berbers* (translated into French by W. Mac. Guckin De Slane, "*Histoire des Berbères*," Alger, 1852–1856), stores a very comprehensive knowledge of Berber history and appears sympathetic to their aspirations. He divided Berbers into two great branches: al-Baranis (sedentary from the plural of Bernous) and Madghis al-Abtar or al-Botr (nomadic). Furthermore, he distinguished three major groups among the Berbers—**Masmuda**, **Sanhaja**, and **Zanata**—and ascribed to each a separate genealogy leading to a common ancestor. Although this dichotomy of Berber history, al-Baranis and al-Botr, is linked to Ibn Khaldun's rural-urban dichotomy, it is less valuable and has probably caused much confusion in Berber scholarship. His simplified classification, based in part on classic ideas, appears to be misguided in stating that Berbers were relatively new settlers from the east, specifically the Goliath folktale

of migration to the Maghrib after his defeat. From a modern anthropological perspective, not only is this folk history discredited, but so also is the notion that ethnic groups in a region such as the Maghrib can be neatly classified into sedentary or nomadic. Human adaptation in the Maghrib is far too complex for such a simple and static dichotomy to explain.

IBN TUMART (1078/1098–1130). He was a religious reformer and the founder of the **Almohad** movement, which was at the core of one of the most powerful empires in the history of the Maghrib. Mohammed Ibn `Abd Allah Ibn Tumart was born in the Hargha tribe village of Ijilli N'Warghan, located in the southeast of Taroudant on the north side of the Anti-Atlas Mountains in the **Sous** region. At an early age, he displayed a remarkable passion for religious studies. In his late twenties, he left to pursue religious studies and training in the east, or al-Mashriq. There he became familiar with currents in theology, jurisprudence, and philosophy, especially the teachings of al-Ghazaali, while also gaining competence in the intricacies of the Arabic language.

Ibn Tumart developed a rigorous affirmation of the Islamic dogma of the unity of God (*al-tawhid*, hence the name of the *muwahhidun*, unitarians, or Almohads). He preached the strictest puritan rules for the conduct of private and public life and a return to the study of the Qur'an and the *hadith* (practices and sayings of the Prophet) as the exclusive source of *shari`a* law. Public morality required an austere and strict application of the canonic law. He called for a rigid segregation of both sexes and imposed the veiling of **women**. There was to be no music and no wine drinking, and prayer should be in *jama`a*, or public. At a later stage, he declared himself to be the infallible imam, the God-guided leader and savior, the *Mahdi*. On his return to the Maghrib between 1110 and 1115, he wandered westward from town to town in the manner of an itinerant missionary preaching to simple people and to the learned in mosques and schools. Slowly advancing from Alexandria through Tunis to Constantine and then to Bijaya, in some places he was reverently listened to and accepted by the religious and scholarly circles as of one of their own, and in others he was chased away and considered an undesirable agitator. However, he gained the allegiance of a few followers who remained loyal disciples throughout his entire life, among them **al-Baidhaq**, who

became his biographer, and **`Abd al-Mu'min**, the first ruler of the Almohad dynasty.

Ibn Tumart and his disciples continued preaching from Bijaya to Tlemcen, to Taza, and further on to Fès and finally Marrakech, the capital of the **Almoravids**. There their proselytizing activities gained them the reputation of political agitators. This led to their expulsion first from Fès and then from Marrakech, and then they withdrew to Aghmat, only to move on to Ibn Tumart's native land, seeking refuge with the **Masmuda** peoples of the **High Atlas Mountains**. Among the Masmuda, he found the support of the Hintata tribe leader, Faska Ou Mzal, named after one of the Prophet's disciples, Abu Hafs `Umar, the ancestor of the **Hafsid** dynasty in Tunisia (1236–1575). In the Atlas, Ibn Tumart started to preach not only his rigorous version of Islam but also open revolt, or jihad, against the Almoravids.

After several attacks by the Almoravids, Ibn Tumart moved his capital to an impenetrable location in the High Atlas, Tinmal. There he integrated the notion of the Mahdi leadership into a hierarchy of consultative assemblies in which an assembly of 10 notables focused on ideological matters, and a larger assembly was devoted to political and military organization among the tribes. Their first offensive against the Almoravids in Marrakech met with heavy losses, although the siege lasted about 30 or 40 days, and at last they had to retreat back into their mountains. Soon Ibn Tumart died and was buried in Tinmal. After his death, some historical versions say he had his companions swear allegiance to **`Abd al-Mu'min**, whereas other interpretations of the account suggest he left no designated successor. By 1146, with the takeover of Marrakech, `Abd al Mu'min was in charge of the Almohad Empire. Although Ibn Tumart was an accomplished Arabist, his preaching was in Berber, and the first version of his book *Kitab al-tawhid* and also known as *Kitab a`azz ma yutlab*, where he laid down the Almohad doctrine and practices, was also in Berber. Ibn Tumart's doctrine augmented the moral motivation for the Almohad conquest of the Maghrib and al-Andalus.

IFRAN BANU (950–1055). One of the tribes of the **Zanata** confederation that, from their pasturelands in Tunisia, had migrated westward and at the time of the Arab invasions lived on the Algerian highlands of Tiaret and Tlemcen. Converted to Islam, they became adherents of

the Ibadithe version of the **Kharijite** heterodoxy, although gradually they turned to the orthodox Sunnite creed. In the middle of the eighth century, they established an Ibadithe theocracy with **Agadir** (today in ruins near Tlemcen) as the center. They were involved in bitter feuds with **Maghrawa**, the Umayyads of **al-Andalus**, and the **Fatimids**. By the end of the 10th century, the Banu Ifran were beaten by the Maghrawa and were dispersed throughout Morocco and Algeria.

IFROUANE. A major caravan entrepôt situated on a rich, sandy plain bordered on one side by an irregular seasonal wadi and irrigated gardens. On the other side, it is about 310 kilometers north of **Agadez** in **Aïr**, Niger. Beyond the wadi, the land rises sharply into the Tamgak Mountains, reaching a height of 2,000 meters. The oasis is a *poste administratif*, with a population of about 140,000 people. The oasis was hard hit by the **droughts** of the 1970s and 1980s and lost much of its **tourism** with the start of the **Tuareg rebellion** in Aïr in the 1990s.

IGDALEN. A Tuareg class; it refers to various maraboutic formations in Mali and **Agadez**, Niger. They form pious and religious groups attached to other clans.

IGHRAM (plural IGHARMAN). This refers to a fortified village and is the elementary corporate unit of sociopolitical organization of most sedentary Berbers. It is called *ksar* in Arabic. Each *ighram* is corporate in maintaining rights over person and land. Territorial boundaries and kinship formations define the division of social order, space, community policy, and authority. The *ighram* is one of the oldest forms of rural housing. In response to concerns of dissidence and a traditional level of technology, the *ighram* was conceived as a defensive strategy to protect its residents and secure subsistence from **agriculture** based on communal management of property and labor mobilization. The management of the *ighram* and its resources are governed by village councils, or ***jama`a***. *See also* AGADIR.

IKLAN (singular AKLI). This term refers to all former black slaves and domestic serfs of traditional **Tuareg** society. The term *iklan* means “to be black.” Slaves belonged to their masters and constituted a valuable source of labor at the disposal of their masters. They

herded Tuareg livestock and cultivated land but could never acquire rights of ownership over these assets either legally or economically, as these rights were vested within the corporate body of the descent group (*tawsit*). Traditional forms of slavery were substantially undermined by the intrusion of colonialism and postindependence legal systems that abolished slavery in its multifarious forms.

They were also known as *ismkhan* (singular *ismakh*) in Morocco and thought to have originated from *bilad al-sudan*. Slaves worked as domestics and shepherds. The slaves were integrated into households and tents of the families they served and usually had personal ties with their masters. For this reason, a slave had a higher standing in the eyes of a Berber or an Arab than a **Haratine**.

IKOFFAR. This term refers to "infidel" in Tamasheq.

IMAJEGHEN (singular AMAJEGH). This term designates the noble, free, and warrior class of **Tuareg** society. Its meaning refers to their exclusive control over camels and specialized arms (i.e., *tabouka*—double-bladed sword) that enabled them to maintain themselves as a warrior class, raiding and establishing domination over vassals in the vital oases and the trans-Saharan caravan routes of the Sahara Desert.

IMENIKALEN (singular AMENUKAL). Tuareg title of suzerains of Tuareg confederations and of territories. It usually refers to the chiefs of the large Tuareg confederations. *See also* JAMA`A.

IMGHAD (singular AMAGHID). This designated the second-ranking noble clan of free men and warriors in traditional Tuareg society, ranking after the **Imajeghen** nobility.

IMLWAN (singular IMLWI). They are known as Rguagua in Moroccan Arabic. Most of them are also landless. The only difference between them and Haratine is the fact that they speak **Tamazight**, or Berber. Rguagua are newcomers to the upper Ziz Oasis of south-central Morocco. Because of recurrent **droughts**, they migrated to the upper Ziz communities or were brought by Berbers to cultivate and work land. They trace their history to the fringes of the Ziz Oa-

sis, occupying the area of Alnif and Msisi between Rissani and Zagora, or Reg, and hence their name. They are known to have practiced Henna cultivation.

IMZAD. *See* MUSIC.

INCHA, EL MOCTAR. Traditional **Tuareg** governor of **Agadez**. He was arrested by the armed forces of the government of Niger in 1992 for suspected links to the **Tuareg rebellion**.

INEDIN (singular ENED). They form an endogamous blacksmith/artisan group found in all **Tuareg** groups. The term *ened* refers to jeweler, blacksmith, engraver, and woodworker and at the same time healer, singer, musician, and general consultant on matters concerning belief practices and ceremonial rituals. While they are admired for their skills and expertise, they are looked down on because of their uncertain and obscure origin and skin color. The development of **tourism** and its demand for traditional jewelry, however, has provided a far more lucrative niche than among the impoverished Tuareg nomads.

INESLEMEN (singular ANESLEM). These are marabouts from the religious class that became established among various Tuareg groups after the advent of Sunni Islam. Their political position varies among Tuareg groups. In **Aïr**, they have the same position as the vassals, while among other groups they have the same status as noble Tuareg. Ineslemen officiate certain ceremonies, such as marriages and naming ceremonies. They also act as mediators, arbiters, and advisers in civil and tribal disputes and the interpretation of Islamic practices and scripture—the Hadith and the Qur'an. Outside the Tuareg areas, they are also known as *Igurramn* (singular *Agurram*) or saints who have founded religious orders (*zawiyas*) and fathered the lineages associated with them. Igurramn are somewhat like hereditary saints. They are endowed with special status as they are recipients of the divine blessing (*baraka*) to mediate among people and between people and God.

IN GALL. An oasis situated in southwestern **Aïr** at an altitude of 470 meters. It is 124 kilometers from **Agadez**, the capital of Aïr. Historically, it occupied a secondary caravan stop on the east-west

route. Its claim to historical fame resides in the participation of local populations in the rebellion of **Kaoucen** against the French in 1916. The 1916 rebels were later brutally crushed by the French, and hundreds of notables were executed following the return of the French to Aïr. In 1969, at the height of the Sahel **drought**, the population stood at 20,000, of which 12,000 were nomadic. The original population consisted of 3,596 Kel Ahaggar, 2,417 Fulani, 1,677 Kel Fadey, 1,600 Kunta, and 1,032 Igdalen. The community itself numbers 2,000 people, but the large majority is employed in the salt pits of **Teguidda n'Tesemt**.

INSTITUT DES HAUTES ÉDUDES MAROCAINES (IHEM). To facilitate the work of native affairs officers, the French colonial administration founded this higher-education institution in 1913 in Rabat to train French and Moroccan teachers and colonial administrators and interpreters in the **languages** and cultures of Morocco. The institute also sponsored research on Moroccan society and published several scholarly journals of which *Hespéris* is the most highly regarded. Arabic and Berber languages dominated the curriculum, and attention was also paid to Islamic studies, ethnology, archaeology, and geography. This colonial institution was formerly known as the École Supérieure de langue arabe et de dialectes berbères, and M. Nehli, a linguist, was named its first professor. *See also* COMITÉ D'ETUDES BERBÈRES.

IREGENATEN (singular AREGENAT). This is a name applied to a particular class among the Northern **Tuareg** descending from mixed unions between noble Tuareg women and Arabs and noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

ISANDALEN (singular ASANDAL). Members of the second wave of **Tuareg** groups to settle in Niger's **Aïr** in the 11th century. Originally from the Gulf of Sidra oasis of Augila, they were forced southward by the pressure of the Arab Bani Hilal and other competing groups in **Tripolitania** and Fezzan. They founded Aïr's old city **Assodé**. Later, they joined forces with the Tuareg Itesen and established the **sultanate of Agadez** in the 15th century. The Isandalen have since vanished, but a few Tuareg Itesen live in the Madaoua region.

ISEKKEMAREN (singular ASEKKEMAR). A class found among the Northern **Tuareg**, it refers to Tuareg descending from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals. *See also* IREGENATEN.

ISHERIFEN (singular ISHERIF). They are also known as *Shorfa*. This religious group should not be confused with the **Ineslemen**, although the two terms are used almost synonymously in North African literature. The Isherifen claim direct descent from the Prophet, or *ahl al-bayt*.

ISLAM. This Arabic word means "submission to God," and it refers to submission to the will of God (Allah in Arabic). Whoever submits is called Muslim. These words occur in the holy book of Muslims, the Qur'an. The Qur'an is the word of God revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (570–632) in Mecca, beginning in 610 by the angel Gabriel. Before the Muslim conquest, the religion of the Berbers appears to have been composed of three major practices: local cults and veneration of a whole host of natural objects, Judaism, and Christianity. Although there is no precise information as to how the Berbers accepted Islam, it is believed that they seceded 12 times and finally accepted Islam only in the 12th century. In spite of their conversion to Islam, they have retained numerous pre-Islamic and pagan practices, some of which have been adapted to Islam. These survivals are evident in the agricultural rites and festivals, which include, for instance, harvest and rain rituals (*taghanja*), lighting bonfires (***l`ansart***), and the importance of saint or the *zawiya*-minded Islam.

At the beginning of the conquest, the converted Berbers practiced the orthodox doctrine, but they soon professed a puritan form of Islam called **Kharijism**, which emphasized equality and justice among Muslims. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the strict Sunni **Almoravid** and **Almohad** rulers put an end to the remaining Christian or Shiite communities, with the exception of a few Kharijite communities that found refuge in the mountains, desert, or seaside. Among revolts against orthodox Islam, two attempts must be noted that sought to establish a new religion in Morocco: the revolt of **Ha-mim** in the **Rif**

in the 10th century and that of Salih Ben Tarif of **Barghwata** along the Atlantic coast. *See also* AL-KAHINA; KUSAYLA IBN LEMTEN.

IZEGGAGHEN (singular AZEGGAGH). Tuareg term that refers to dark-skinned agriculturalist known to Arabs as Haratine (singular Hartani). In late nineteenth century, Haratine migrated from the Tidikelt oases and settled around the water points in the major valleys of the Ahaggar country to cultivate the more fertile land for the **Tuareg** nobility. In the Ghat oasis, they are known as Ikewweren. The position of the Haratine was that of a dependent client. He worked the land on a contract basis and was entitled to one-fifth of the harvest. While technically a free man, the condition of the Haratine, or *khommas* as he was called, could not escape the trappings of poverty as a result of demands made on him by the noble classes until the last decades of French colonialism and the development of the Sahara provided him with the opportunity to join the emerging wage labor market. Haratine are found in Algeria, Mauritania, and Morocco.

The etymology of the term "Haratine" expresses many things. It has evolved through time from the root of the Arabic verb *haratha*, "to plant." It is possible that conquering tribes referred to certain agricultural people as *harrathin*, "cultivators of land." This link with **agriculture** suggests in turn a connection with the ancient inhabitants of the Saharan oases. Another possible meaning may be shown by breaking down the term Haratine into two components: *hor* and *thani*. These two separate words denote a second free people, as opposed to the freeborn: Arab Ahrars and commoners.

In **Tamazight** (Berber), however, the black population is referred to as *iqbliyn* (singular *aqbliy*), referring to the people of the east or the inhabitants of the southeastern oases. This term could have been coined during the invasion of the nomadic Berbers of the sedentary communities, which were composed of Haratine and Arab commoners in the 17th and 18th centuries. *Iqbliyn* are, in turn, divided into *iqbliyn imalalan*, or "white easterners," who own land, and *iqbliy ungaln*, or "black easterners," who have no access to land and are thus subject to subordination by Berbers and Holy Arabs. *Iqbliyn imalalan*, also called *qbala*, are of Arab descent, such as the Bni Hsin, who populate a few *ksars* around the Rich area, and the Ahrars.

In Berber, the term *ahardan*, which is closer to “Haratine,” refers to a person with a dark-skinned complexion. The term “Haratine” does not exist in Arabic, suggesting an Arabization of this Berber term from its original from of *ahardan* to the locally Arabized version of “Hartani.” Outside Tafilalet, the Haratine are referred to as *drawa*, “natives of the Dra`a Oasis,” an oasis to the west of the Ziz Oasis, or *`azzi* (pl. *`awazza* Bambara), in reference to the Bambara people of sub-Saharan Africa. In the **Sous** region, they are called Issuqiyn.

Haratine are generally treated as an inferior social group and were constrained to remain at the bottom of the social hierarchy by Berbers and Arabs who denied them access to landownership. However, Haratine have in recent years, particularly over the past four decades, remitted significant funds from overseas and national migration and have begun to buy land and enter politics on a large scale.

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JAMA`A. This Arabic term refers to the assembly of notables of a tribe or a tribal section that in Berber society acts as a legislative, executive, and judicial entity. In some places, it goes by the name of *taqbilt*, the term being the **Tamazight** form of the Arabic word *qabila*: tribe and/or confederation referring to a political unit based usually on a segmentary lineage framework. It applies the *abrid* or *qanoun*, which are embodied in the corpus of customary law, called *azerf*. This legal code is oral as well as written. A select group of elders who retain the code in memory are known as *aït al-haqq* (men of truth) and serve as final arbiters in determining the rules of the code. Two mechanisms were (and still are in some places) critical for the maintenance of *azerf*: *diya*, or blood money, and *tagallit*, or collective oath. The practice of community consensus through *jama`a* indicates that Berber society is relatively democratic, though only elder men generally participated. **Women**, young men, and outsiders (as well as slaves and Haratine in the past) were excluded.

Each *jama`a* has a paramount village or tribal leader, called *amghar*, who is elected (and most often appointed) annually with rotation of candidates from each lineage of the community in order to

ensure the diffusion of authority. In addition to the paramount annual *amghar*, or supreme tribal leader (also called *amghar n'uffalla*), leaders were designated for specific tasks such as war (*amghar al-barood*), irrigation management (*amghar n'waman* or *n-truguine*), palm grove guard (*amghar n'tmazirt*), grazing movements (*amghar n'-tugha* or *n'irrahhalen*), collective lands (*amghar n'iguldan*), and market (*amghar n'ssuq*). Postcolonial administrative reforms have to a large extent undermined the traditional workings of the *jama`a*.

Among the Aït Atta of Morocco, the internal and political affairs of sedentary communities were (and some still are) administered by the local agnatic lineage-based council called *taqbilt* or *ajmu`*. Each lineage or ethnic group occupied a certain part or street of the village. The *ajmu`* was composed of *id-bab n-imuran*, or lineage representatives, headed by the *amghar n-tmazirt*, the country or land chief. The *amghar* was elected or appointed every year from a different lineage. For instance, in Zaouiat Amelkis, the Aït Khabbash subtribe was divided into six lineages, or *swadis*: Aït `Amar, Aït Burk, Aït Taghla, Ilhiane, Irjdaln, and Izulayn. These six lineages made the *taqbilt* or *ajmu`* of the community. Each year, after the wheat harvest, they gathered to appoint the annual *amghar*, or chief of the community. The office of the chief rotated among the lineages. Once all the lineage representatives (as well as the *fqih* (imam) of the mosque to bless the gathering with benediction) were assembled in the *ajmu`*'s *ahanu*, or room, the selection started. The candidates from the incoming lineage sat on a red carpet and waited while the electors from the other lineages went outside to discuss their choice of the individual to be elected. Once the electors had made their decisions, they came back, walked in a circle around the candidates, and reported their decision to the *fqih*, and finally the *fqih* put his finger on the head of the person who was about to assume leadership.

The newly selected chief sat down and usually cried and prayed to God to help him do justice, to do no harm, or to not falsely accuse any member of the community. His predecessor then walked forward to him and put a branch of alfalfa in his turban to confirm his chieftainship and to symbolize the hope for a bountiful harvest during his tenure. The *fqih* gave the new chief some milk and dates for his inauguration, but, while the chief is drinking his milk, the *fqih* would jerk the bowl of milk so that it spilled on the chief's robe. This act

implied the new chief's imperfection in office and the frailty of his power and stressed the fact that he was no better than anyone else in the community.

The main deliberations of the *ajmu`*'s representatives of the agnatic lineage groups of the subtribe centered on the communal management of the village cultural and economic life. The *ajmu`*'s concerns centered on the following themes critical to the welfare of the community and palm grove: to select the *amghar* of the year; to settle divisions of water and land; to organize *harkas*, or war parties; to administer any issue dealing with the lands and trees of the *habous*; to establish the distribution of the *`ushur*, or religious tithe and the share of the *fqih* of the mosque; to enforce order, fines and banishments; and to establish rules for sharing the costs of the guests of the community. *See also* AURÈS; IGHRAM; IMENIKALEN; KABYLES; MOZABITES; TUAREG.

JAZULI, ABU `ABD ALLAH MUHAMMAD IBN SULAYMAN (1465–1470). He was a member of the Jazula tribe of the Sanhaja confederation in the western portion of the Anti-Atlas Mountains. He was a highly reputed religious scholar and founder of a school of mystical thought that gave rise to a great number of widely branched-out religious brotherhoods. He was a follower of the teaching of the mystic al-Shadhili (1175–1250). After religious training in Fès, Azemmour, and Tit and pilgrimage to Mecca, he settled in Safi, where his fame as a scholar and holy man made him the center of a varied multitude of reverent disciples. Only a few of his works have been preserved. The most popular among them, the *Dala'il al khayrat* (The Guide to Good Works), is a collection of prayers for the Prophet. Al-Jazuli himself did not establish a specific community, but his prominent followers set up Jazuliya all over the Maghrib, known by their founders' names and more or less differing in their ritual practices and structure. A few of them are still in existence, as in the *`Issawa*, the *Yusufiya*, the *Sharqawiya*, the *Shaykhiya*, the *Nasiriyya*, and the *Taybiyya*.

JERBA. This is an island located off the southeastern Tunisian coast in the Gulf of Gabes. It has a population of 110,000, and its area is 510 square kilometers. Some historical sources have identified it with the

land of the lotus eaters in Homer's *Odyssey*. Its settlement dates back to the Phoenician and Roman periods. Jerba's isolated location made it an ideal refuge for Khariji Berbers as well as Jews. Political and social discrimination against Berbers by the Umayyad dynasty (661–750) and to a lesser degree by their successors, the Abbasid dynasty (758–1258), prompted revolts inspired by Khariji ideology as early as the 740s. The last Khariji rebellion occurred in the 11th century against the **Zirids**.

Jerba's economy, which had been historically based on agriculture and fishing activities, has, after independence in 1956, given way to **tourism**. Light industries produce pottery, jewelry, and cloth. The largest city is Houmt-Souq, with a population of about 25,000, and it is also home to the Jewish and Christian communities. The second-largest city is El May, with 15,000 people. Ajim, with 5,000 residents on the southern coast, is the main port city.

Although the population of the island is mainly Sunni Muslim, there still exists a Khariji community in the village of Guellala. Despite subsequent centuries of Berber and Arab coexistence, Berber language and culture have persisted in Tunisia. Actually, the first ethnolinguistic evidence of the Berbers is associated with **Capsian** culture, found in modern Tunisia. Estimates of the Tunisia's Berber population are around 250,000, although this number is highly suspect because of the state's continuous political and social discrimination against Berbers. Most Berbers in Tunisia live in Jerba, Matmata, and east of Gafsa, Tataouine, and Tozeur. *See also* KHARIJISM.

**JOUHADI AL-HOUSSAIN AL-BA`AMRANI (1942– ).** A writer, Islamic studies scholar, and former high school history teacher, Jouhadi was born in Casablanca, Morocco. He is a member of the Aït Ba`amran tribe in southwestern Morocco. As a youth, he attended Islamic seminaries in his native land, where he learned the art of Qur'an *qira'at*, or interpretations, and was exposed to the sciences of Islamic studies. Afterward, he earned bachelor's degree in history.

He published several articles on the history of **Sous** and contributed entries to the *Ma`lamat al-Maghrib* (Encyclopedia of Morocco). He also hosted a radio show on religious affairs in Berber. His works include *Tagharast n Ureqqas n Rebbi* (The Path of Allah's Messenger, the Prophet of Islam, Mohammed, 1995), a collection of

Berber poems titled *Timatarin* (Symbols, 1997), and *tarjamat ma`ani al Qur'an bi-llugha al-amazighiya* (Translation of the Meanings of the Qur'an in the Tamazight Language, 2003). Jouhadi writes Berber in Arabic script, a tradition that harks back to the times of **Barghwata** and **Ibn Tumart**.

JUDEO-BERBERS. Jews in North Africa predate the arrival of Arabs and Islam. Jewish communities played prominent economic and political roles throughout the history of North Africa. One of the best-known resistants to the Arab conquest in the seventh century was **al-Kahina**, who was the chief of a Judeo-Berber tribe, the Jerawa. After the Arab invasion, Jewish communities existed within Berber states and maintained relations with fellow Jews throughout North Africa and Spain. There was also an important Jewish cultural and commercial presence in cities such as Bijaia, **Jerba**, **Sijilmassa**, **Tafilalet**, **Tahart**, and **Tlemcen**. In the Drâa valley of southern Morocco, oral accounts suggest that in the pre-Islamic period and until 10th century A.D., Jewish Berber groups formed significant states in the region. Other accounts suggest that the Jewish presence in the Drâa valley may date to emigration caused by Nebuchadrezzar II's invasion of Palestine in 587 B.C. Based on this interpretation of history, Jews would have settled in the **Middle Atlas** starting around 361 B.C.

In Morocco, until the middle of the 20th century, there were many Berber-speaking Jewish communities, and Berber was not only spoken but also written in a Hebraic script. Judeo-Berber was used in biblical translations and everyday life rituals, and it was the language of instruction and culture in many communities, such as Tiznit, Ouarzazat, Ufran, Illigh, and Demnat. After World War II, almost all the Berber-speaking Jewish communities either left to major urban centers or emigrated to Israel, France, and North America.

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KABYLES. The word "Kabyles" is derived from the Arabic word *qabila* (plural *qaba'il*) for "tribes." It is used in European languages for the Berber groups stemming from the ancient **Sanhaja** stock. The Kabyles inhabit the northern Algerian mountain region extending

from about Algiers, or the Mtitja plain, eastward to the Oued al-Kabir. It is divided by the Soummam River valley into a western section, called Greater Kabylia, or Kabylia of the Jbal Jurjura, with the capital town of **Tizi Ouzou**, and an eastern section, called Lesser Kabylia, or Kabylia of the Jbal Babor. By extension, the name of the largest group in the Jurjura, the Zwawa (Zouaoua in French), is often applied to the entire Kabyle population.

At the start of the 10th century, from the midst of the Kutama tribe in the Lesser Kabylia emerged the **Fatimid** dynasty. However, for the following four centuries or so, the Kabyle people seem to have remained withdrawn in the seclusion of their mountains, untouched by the stormy history of Ottoman and European competition. At the time, the population appears grouped in three "states": the sultanate of Kuko (a village of the Aït Yahya) in the Jurjura, extending down to the coast with the small port of Azzefun; the sultanate of Labes (Banu Abbas) in the Lesser Kabylia, founded by marabouts, with Qal`at Banu `Abbas as the seat of the strong clan of the Banu Muqrani; and the principality of the Banu `Abd al-Jabbar on the coastal area east of Bijaya (as well as the Zwawa confederation). They were all drawn into the struggle between Spain and the Ottoman Empire for supremacy in this part of the Mediterranean, which ended in the demise of the Hafsid dynasty in 1575 and the establishment of the Turkish regency in Algiers.

The occupation by France of Algiers in 1830 and of strategic points on the coast, soon followed by the withdrawal of the Turks from Algeria, opened new chapter in Kabyle history. In general, the Kabyles refused to become a party to the long-drawn-out combat between the French and Emir `Abd al-Qadir, suspecting both of designs running counter to that particularism that they felt to be the essence of their social and moral foundations. In 1871, on the defeat of France by Germany, a new revolt, instigated by the Muqrani clan, rapidly spread throughout the Soummam Valley and, under the call to jihad by Sheikh Mohammad Amzian Ibn al-Haddad, stirred the entire Kabylia country into violent resistance. The revolt was repressed after fierce fighting, and the French imposed draconian measures, such as the imposition of heavy contributions, the confiscation of large tracts of landed property that was distributed to French settlers, and the abolition of the autonomy of the villages, which were placed under French military control.

During the pacification stages, village self-governance was reestablished, confiscated land was repurchased, and new rural schools offered a few the road to higher education. Thus there emerged in the mid-20th century a generation of teachers whose modest review, *La Voix des Humbles*, opened a space for the most varied philosophic and intellectual currents. Soon also institutes and universities in Algeria and France trained a Kabyle intellectual elite at home as much in its native mountains as in the world of French letters and the professions: the writer and literary critic **Jean Amrouche**; the poet and writer **Mouloud Feraoun**; the writer **Yacine Kateb**; the lawyers Ahmed Bumanjel, Hashim Sharif, and `Abd al-Rahman Farès; and the physicians Dr. Charqawi Mustapha and Dr. Mohammad Lamine Dabbaghin, all of whom sooner or later joined the ranks of the Algerian Revolution. Kabyle, too, were some of the revolutionary leaders, such as **Aït Hammouda Amirouche**, `Omar Amran, **Abbane Ramdane**, **Belkacem Krim**, and **Hocine Aït Ahmed**. It was in the Kabyle Mountains and during the Soummam Valley Congress in 1956 that the foundation was laid down for the military and political structure of the revolution and, after the war, the organization of the Algerian Republic.

Historically, the Kabyles are peasants and more particularly cultivators of fruit trees, mainly figs and olives. They dwell in moderate-sized villages (*thaddart*), and they are organized into democratic communities where authority resides in the hands of the village assembly called *thajma`t*. Kabyle land has poor and stony soil, limiting the productivity of crops and trees, making most of the peasantry dependent on remittances from their members working abroad, where they constitute the majority of the Algerian labor force in France, Belgium, and Germany. *See also* RAHMANIYA.

KAHINA AL-. This is the surname of the legendary Berber prophetess (female of *al-kahin*, "the seer") of the apparently Judaized tribe of Jerawa, a **Zanata** branch in the **Aurès** in northern Algeria. She is also known by the name of Dahiyya. She distinguished herself in assuming the leadership in the Berber resistance against the Arabs who under Hassan Ibn Nu`man al Ghassani, the Umayyad governor of al-Qayrawan, had forced the Byzantines out of Carthage in 698. Al-Kahina laid all the land waste before the advancing Arabs, inflicted on them a heavy defeat, and pushed them back beyond the

borders of present-day Tunisia and Libya. A few years later, however, the Umayyad caliph `Abd al-Malik reinforced the Arabs troops, and the Berbers were decisively beaten near the old Roman port town of Tabarqa. Al-Kahina was pursued into the mountains and was killed in 702 in combat near a well still today called Bir al-Kahina (the well of al-Kahina).

KAOUCEN, AG MOHAMED WAU TEGUIDA (1882–1919). Land chief, or *amenukal*, of the Ikzkazan clan who led a historic **Tuareg** revolt against the French in 1916, also called the Kaoucen revolt. It refers to the rebellion of the Tuareg in northern Niger, a rebellion sparked by the call to jihad declared by the Grand Sanusi of Kufra oasis (Fezzan) in 1914. Born to the Ghat clan of the Oraghen of Damergou in 1882, Kaoucen witnessed many defeats of his people at the hands of the French armed forces, and he was a follower of the **Sanusiyya** order, which called for a jihad against infidel occupation of Muslim lands. He was an ardent follower and preacher of the order and took part in many anti-French jihads in Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti in Chad in 1909 and Ain Gallaka.

In 1910, Kaoucen was given command of the defense of Ennedi by the Grand Sanusi. He was defeated in Ennedi and was forced by the French to Darfur (Sudan), only to return in 1913 to Ouninaga Kabir (Chad) and Fezzan to continue his assaults on the French. In 1916, he led an attack and siege of **Agadez**. Accompanied by a thousand holy warriors using guns and a cannon stripped from the Italians in Libya, Kaoucen maintained the siege of the French garrison until reinforcements from Zinder finally lifted it. Forced by the French into Tibesti and Fezzan, he was captured by the Alifa of Zeila and hanged in Marzouk on 5 January 1919.

KATEB, YACINE (1929–1989). Kateb Yacine was born in Constantine on 6 August 1929 and died in Grenoble, France, in 1989. He was born to the maraboutic tribe of Kbeltiya, an Arabized Berber tribe in eastern Algeria. He was a novelist, poet, and playwright. He was one of Algeria's most renowned francophone writers. In 1945, he was expelled from school after taking part in the Sétif uprising. He worked as a journalist for *Alger Républicain*, a communist daily. In 1951, he

left for France and worked as an unskilled laborer. During the war of independence, he stayed away from Algeria.

Prominent among his groundbreaking literary works stands the novel *Nedjma* (Star), which was published in 1956. Written in French and translated into several languages, *Nedjma* is concerned with the relentless search for and expression of personal and national identity. It is a great work of **literature** that combines history, autobiography, and poetry. In 1966, he published *Le polygone etoilé*, in which he lays out his disillusionment with the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) and independence. He also wrote a collection of poems, *Soliloques* (1946), and published a number of plays, such as *Le cadavre encerclé, La poudre d'intelligence, Les ancêtres redoublent de férocité*, *Le cercle des représailles* (1959), *Mohammad prends ta valise* (1971), *La voix des femmes* and *L'homme aux sandales de caoutchouc* (1970), and *La guerre de 2000 ans* (1975).

Although he was accused of supporting the postcolonial authoritarian military junta, Kateb was also very critical of the violent way in which Algerian authorities dealt with the October 1988 riots. He opposed the rise of Islamist politics and decried its consequences for **women**. He also supported the Berber cause and considered Berber culture as one of the defining elements of Algerian culture and personality. Kateb Yacine viewed Algeria as a pluralist society and could not reconcile himself to independent Algeria or French Algeria. In 1987, he was awarded the *Grand Prix national français des lettres*.

KEL. This term means "people of" in Tamasheq. It is a prefix to **Tuareg** clans making up a confederation.

KEL ADRAR. Tuareg groups situated in the mountains of Adrar n'Iforas to the southwest of Ahaggar.

KEL AHAGGAR. Confederation of **Tuareg** groups found in the Ahaggar massif; the mountains of Atakor, Immidir, and Tefedest; and the surrounding lowlands of southern Algeria. Certain tribes of the Kel Ahaggar make the plains of Tamesna their home, between the massifs of Aïr and Adrar-n-Iforas, particularly In Abangerit and **Teguidda-n-Tesemt**, Niger. The Kel Ahaggar and **Kel Ajjer** are usually

referred to as the Northern Tuareg, while the remaining groups comprise the Southern Tuareg.

KEL AÏR. Niger **Tuareg** groups located in the mountain massif of Aïr and the plains to the west and southwest of **Aïr**.

KEL AJJER. Tuareg groups found in the mountains of the Tassili-n-Ajjer to the northeast of Ahaggar in the eastern Algerian Sahara. They extend into Libya and northward into **Tripolitania** and the Great Eastern Erg around Ghadames. The **Kel Ahaggar** and Kel Ajjer are usually referred to as the Northern Tuareg, while the remaining groups comprise the Southern Tuareg.

KEL ASOUF. This refers to the Islamic belief in *djins* (demons), known as "people who live alone," "people who talk to no one," "people of the night," "people of empty places," or "people of the earth." The Kel Asouf are particularly active during the hours of darkness and in and around empty places, fireplaces, trees, caves, slaughter places, and water holes. They are believed by the **Tuareg** to have human qualities. They are essentially wicked human beings, and many of the daily mishaps are attributed to them. The Tuareg maintain that most illnesses are caused by the Kel Asouf entering the body, which can cause death to both humans and animals. Protection against the Kel Asouf involves the practice of a series of taboos imbued with *baraka* and the use of aromatic herbs to drive the mischievous Kel Asouf away.

KEL ATARAM (WESTERN IWLLEMMEDEN BRANCH). Tuareg groups located in the plains around Meneka and along the Niger River.

KEL DENNEK (EASTERN IWLLEMMEDEN BRANCH). Tuareg groups found in the plains around Tawa. At the end of the rainy season, they migrate north to **In Gall** in the country of Kel Aïr.

KEL GRESS. Tuareg groups situated south of the Kel Aïr in the plains around Tessawa. In late summer, they migrate northward to water points in southern **Aïr**, Niger.

KEL TADEMAKET. *Tuareg* units forming various tribes found around **Timbuktu** and Lake Faguibine, Mali. The Tengerregif and Kel Inteser are important units among these groups.

KENZA. She was an Awraba woman and is said to have been the concubine of Idris I and mother of Idris II. Idris I, with his full name Idris Ibn Abdullah, was the founder of the first Arab dynasty in Morocco, descended from al-Hassan, son of Ali, the fourth caliph and the Prophet's cousin and husband of his daughter Fatima Ezzahra. Idris, implicated in a revolt (785) in Medina against the `Abbasid caliph, escaped to North Africa and came into the territory of the Berber confederation of the Awraba, mainly agriculturalists and living around the town of Oualili (Volubilis), in the fertile Zarhoun hills. There Idris started preaching the message of Islam in a version close to moderate Shiism among the Awraba and the surrounding tribes. Most of the tribes were adherents of beliefs related to Christianity, Judaism, or some sort of paganism. According to **Ibn Khaldun** in his *Kitab al-`Ibar*, the Awraba initially resisted Muslim troops in the **Aurès** region under the leadership of a Christian chief named **Kusayla Ibn Lemten**, who was defeated and killed in 682. The Awraba migrated west, and it was they who gave protection to Idris I but later were persecuted by Idris II. Today, the only remaining Awraba tribes—the Lajaya, Mazyata, and Raghiwa—are found to the north of the town of Moulay Driss Zarhoun. *See also* AL-KAHINA.

KHAÏR-EDDINE MOHAMMED (1941–1995). He was born in Tafraout in the **Sous** region and grew up in Casablanca. Despite his urban upbringing, he remained attached to Sous and its Berber way of life. He is best known for his novel *Agadir*, in which he uses iconoclastic language and explosive images to describe the effects of the 1960 earthquake on the city. In his novels, he mastered the art and poetry of what he called the *guerilla linguistique*. Using this approach, he scathingly criticized the ways in which the Moroccan political establishment controlled society. His political positions angered the authorities, and as a result he chose exile in France between 1965 and 1979. In exile, his work appeared in Parisian literary magazines such as *Les Lettres Nouvelles*, *Les Temps modernes*, and *Présence Africaine*.

His major literary works are *Agadir* (1967), *Corps négatif* and *Histoire d'un Bon Dieu* (1968), *Moi, l'aigre* (1970), *Le déterreur* (1973), *Une odeur de manthèque* (1976), and *Une vie, un rêve, un peuple toujours errant* (1978). His poetry collection includes *Soleil arachide* (1968), *Ce Maroc!* (1975), *Résurrection des fleurs sauvages* (1981), *Légende et vie d'Agoun Chich* (1984), and *Mémorial* (1992). He died in November 1995.

KHARIJISM. A Muslim sect popular among Berbers in the first centuries of the Arab conquest of North Africa. It is a religious movement rooted in the conflict between `Ali Ibn Talib (the fourth caliph) and Mu`awiyya when, based on a dispute over succession to the caliphate, `Ali agreed to arbitration with Mu`awiyya in the battle of Siffin (657) and a number of his followers left (*kharaja* or those who seceded) in protest over his agreeing to submit to human arbitration. Kharijism developed as a revolutionary doctrine. The Kharijites stress the equality of all believers, believe that they were obligated to denounce as illegitimate and overthrow unjust leaders, and assert that the leadership of the Islamic community should be open to the most pious regardless of racial and tribal affiliations. This meant that descent from the Prophet was irrelevant, and they insisted that faith is justified only by good works and practices. Radical versions of Kharijism at times went so far as to consider non-Kharijites as infidel-ingrates (*takfir*) who should be killed.

An offshoot of this movement is the Ibadithe Islamic sect founded in the first half of the seventh century. The sect took its name from Abdullah Ibn Ibadh, one of its architects and early theologians. Although scholars of Islam include Ibadhiyyah within the Khariji doctrine, the Ibadithes themselves reject such an affiliation. The Ibadithes, believed to represent the most moderate variant of those who split from the fourth caliph's camp, are found today in Oman, East Africa, and small communities of Mzab in Algeria, **Jerba** in Tunisia, and Jabal Nafusa and Zuwarrah in Libya. The Ibadithe sect's approach to Islam is not radically different from the Sunnis. Ibadithe interpretations and practices of Islam are slightly different from the dominant Malekite School of law. Some of these differences have to do with the contested notions of the creation of the Qur'an and the possibility of seeing God in person in the afterlife.

In North Africa, social and political discrimination against Berbers by the Umayyad Dynasty (661–750) sparked revolts embodied in Kharijite ideology, such as the Sufrite rebellion in Tanger (739–740) and the conversion of the **Zanata** Berbers to Ibadithe dogma and practices in the mid-eighth century. Two major Ibadithe states emerged in the western part of North Africa: the Sufrite city-states of the Banu Midrar in **Sijilmassa** and that of the Rustamid Ibadithe in **Tahart**. After fleeing from Tanger, the Banu Midrar settled in **Tafilalet** and built the trade entrepôt of Sijilmassa. The Banu Midrar fell to the Umayyad proxy, the **Maghrawa**, in 976, although Sijilmassa was briefly controlled by the **Fatimids** in 909, 922, and 966. To the north, Tahart controlled the northern trans-Saharan trade routes until they were conquered by the Fatimids in 909 and the Ibadithes were forced south into the isolated desert areas of Mzab and Ouargla. The rise of Shorfa dynasties from the 16th century on, who based their claims to power on descent from the Prophet Muhammad, spelled the end to any remaining significant Kharijite or Ibadithe beliefs in North Africa.

Major scholars on the Ibadithe sect are E. Masqueray, who edited and translated the *Sirah of Abu Zakariya al-Warijlani* into French (1879) and authored *Formations des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie* (1886). A. de C. Motylinski compiled a set of bibliographies on the Ibadithe sheikhs (*Sirah of Abu Zakariya*, *Tabaqat of al-Darjini*, *al-Jawahir of al-Barradi*, and *Siyyar of al-Shamaakhi*, also known as *Les Livres de la secte abadhite*, 1885), edited and translated into French the history of Ibn al-Saghir al-Maliki on the Rustamid imams, and authored *Guerrara depuis sa foundation* (1885) and the *Djebel Nefousa* (1898). M. Mercier wrote *La civilization urbaine au Mzab* (1922). There is also the work of A. M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab* (1927), and also that of L. Milliot, *Receuil des delibérations des djema'a du Mzab* (1939), in which the position of **women** and Ibadithe jurisprudence are dealt with.

Ibadithe scholars include **Suleiman Basha al-Baruni**, a native of Jabal Nafusa in Libya who established a printing press and issued his newspaper *al-Asad al-Isalmi* and authored several works on the Ibadithes. Ali Mua`ammar of Jabal Nafusa also published a number of volumes under the title *al-ibadhiya fi mawkib al tarikh* (Ibadhiyya through History). In Algeria, the scholar Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Atfaiyish

issued his journal, *al-Minhaj*, and published the works of Mohammed Ibn Yusuf Atfaiyish and the Omani scholar al-Salim. Abu al-Yaqzan Ibrahim published about eight newspapers during the French rule, and Sheikh Baiyud Ibrahim Ibn `Umar was responsible for the modern reformist movement in Mzab and for bringing it closer to the Sunni Jam`iyat al-`Ulama. Muhammad Ali Dabbuz of al-Quarrarah, Mzab, rewrote the history of the Maghrib from the Ibadhi point of view, and he also authored several volumes on modern Algeria under the title *Thawrat al-Jaza'ir wa nahdatuha al–mubarakah* (Algerian Revolution and Its Blessed Renaissance). In Tunisia, there was the work of Mohammed al-Tammimi, originally from Mzab, who published works on the Ibadhite literature, and there was also Sheikh Suleiman al-Jadawi, editor of the newspaper *Murshid al-Ummah*. *See also* MOZABITES.

KHATTABI AL-, ABDELKARIM (1882–1963). His full name is Mohammed Ibn Abdelkarim al-Khattabi. He was a Moroccan Berber leader and founder of the short-lived "Republic of the Rif" from 1922 to 1926. He was born in the village of Ajdir west of Melilla on the slopes of the **Rif** Mountains. From 1921 to 1926, he crushed the Spanish forces in the Rif and destabilized French colonial rule throughout the rest of Morocco. His struggle against colonialism found a loud echo not only in the Arab Muslim East and the Americas but also in Europe, where anticolonial groups carried on an active campaign in his favor. It took the combination of French and Spanish military operations to put an end to his revolt in the North, and he surrendered to the French in 1926. He was deported with his family to Réunion Island in the Indian Ocean. There he set up a Berber village with its *qasaba* and during 21 years of his exile lived the life of a Berber chief, observing, however, the political development in the Arab world and changes in the international community.

In the Rif, he is remembered as the great popular hero shrouded in the glory of his exploits and falling only to the overwhelming number and sophisticated weaponry of his enemies. From his humble village of Ajdir, his fame fanned out throughout Morocco, and he is considered the precursor of the struggle for Moroccan independence. In 1947, when the French decided Abdelkarim's transfer to France and during a stop at Port Said, he left the ship and was granted asylum by

the Egyptian government and took refuge in Cairo, then the most active center of North African nationalism. There he was the president of the Maghrib Bureau, a section of the Liberation Committee of the Arab West, but, dissatisfied with discord in its workings, he resigned five years later. He died at the age of 81 on 6 February 1963 and was buried with full honors in Cairo. *See also* `ASSOU OU BASLAM; MOHA OU HAMMOU ZAYANI; RIF REVOLT.

KIDAL. One of the poorest and least populated and developed regions of Mali. It is an autonomous region in the northeast of Mali, bordering on Algeria. It was created on 15 May 1991 following the 6 January 1991 agreement signed in **Tamanrasset**, Algeria, between **Tuareg** rebel groups and the government of Mali. Until 1991, Kidal was a *cercle* of the Gao region. Kidal covers 260,000 square kilometers and has a population of about 85,659, most of whom are Tuareg and Maure nomads. The *cercle* of Kidal proper has a population of about 11,000. It is located in the low-lying Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains. In the 1970s and 1980s, severe **droughts** forced many nomads to flee to Algeria, as the government of Mali did little to mitigate the devastating effects. Following the **Tuareg Revolt of 1962**, a large contingent of the Malian army was stationed in Kidal. During the 1960s, the commandant of the *cercle* was Captain Diby Silas Diarra, a ruthless and brutal army officer who executed at will those Tuareg he suspected of subversion. Both Presidents Moussa Traoré and Modido Keita committed grave human rights violations against the Tuareg and tried to drive them out of Mali to bordering countries. Tuareg livestock were also illegally confiscated by corrupt government and military authorities. Following the negotiations to end the **Tuareg Revolt of 1990–1992**, the Malian government accepted the creation of an autonomous region for the Tuareg, giving them significant local control in government and administration. During 1992 and 1993, subsequent to the **National Pact**, many Tuareg **refugees** in Algeria were repatriated to Kidal. Between 1960 and 1991, political prisoners were regularly sent to Kidal and also to the Taoudeni salt mine prison, which closed in 1988.

KRIM, BELKACEM (1922–1970). He was one of the historic leaders of the Algerian revolution. He was born in the village of Aït Yahia Ou

Moussa in the region of Draâ al Mizan, Greater Kabylia. He received his elementary school certificate at the Sarrouy school in Algiers. Afterward, he worked as an employee in the Mirabeaud mixed commune (*commune mixte*). In 1945, he joined the Parti du Peuple Algérien (PPA) as well as the Organisation spéciale (OS). From 1946 on, especially following the accusation of assassinating a forest ranger, Krim was always on the run from French authorities to the point that he became known as the "lion du Djebel," or "the mountain lion."

In 1947 and 1950, he was twice condemned to death in absentia. Although he was leading a clandestine way of life, in 1954 he became the sixth internal leader of the Comité Révolutionnaire pour l'Unité et l'Action (CRUA) of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). He was in charge of the **Kabylia** region. After the 1956 Soummam Valley Congress, he reluctantly opposed his fellow Kabyle, **Abbane Ramdane**, and became a member of the Comité de Coordination et d'Exécution (CCE) of the FLN. After the Battle of Algiers (1956–1957), he left Algeria to join the external delegation of the FLN. In 1958, he became vice president of the Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne (GPRA). During the GPRA years, he served as war minister, vice president of the Council of Ministers (1958), foreign minister (1960), and minister of the interior (1961). He chaired the FLN negotiating team, which signed the Evian Accords recognizing Algeria's independence, and was the chief opponent of Ahmed Ben Bella's government after independence in 1962. From 1963 to 1965, he withdrew from politics. In 1965, he was accused of plotting against Houari Boumédiènne and was again condemned to death in absentia, this time ironically by postindependence Algerian courts.

In 1969, he organized the Mouvement de Renouveau Algérien (MRA). He later took refuge in Germany, where he was assassinated on 18 October 1970 in Frankfurt, probably by Algerian security operatives. In 1984, Krim's legacy and contributions to the Algerian Revolution were reassessed, and his name was rehabilitated. As a result, he was reburied in the Carré des Martyrs cemetery in Algiers. In 1999, his home in the Aït Yahia Ou Moussa village was converted into a museum to celebrate his life and times. *See also* AÏT AHMED.

KUSAYLA IBN LEMTEN. One of the earliest kings of the tribes found between the western **Aurès** and Oualili to the north of present-day Fès constituted in the early 670s a confederation with its seat in **Tlemcen**. Kusayla and his people, who under Byzantine rule had become Christians, made their submission to the advancing Arab armies but after a while revolted, were defeated, and embraced Islam. On `Uqba Ibn Nafi's return eastward, Kusayla succeeded in organizing a coalition of Berber tribes and Byzantine troops and attacked the Arabs. In a fierce battle near Biskra (683), `Uqba and his soldiers fell fighting, whereas Kusayla and his Awraba took control of al-Qayrawan. He extended his rule to most of present-day Tunisia and eastern Algeria. Kusayla was defeated and killed (690) at the gates of al-Qayrawan by an army sent by the Umayyad caliph `Abd al-Malik (685–705). *See also* BARGHWATA; MAYSARA AL-MATGHARI.

– L –

LANGUAGES. The term for the Berber language today is **Tamazight**, and the name of Berber speakers is Imazighen. The term "Imazighen" refers to the free, noble, and indigenous inhabitants of the historic **Tamazgha**, or Berber homeland, stretching east to west from **Siwa** in the Western Desert of Egypt to the **Canary Islands** and north to south from the Mediterranean shores to the southern limits of the Niger and Senegal rivers.

Tamazight is the mother language of Berber dialects. Tamazight is part of the Afro-Asiatic language group, which is composed of the Semitic languages and Ancient Egyptian. Tamazight dialects vary widely, but they are all related to Tamazight. The term "Tamazight" also takes various forms, as in "thamazight," "Tamasheq," "Tamajeq," and "Tamahaq," and it is used by a number of Berber communities in the **Middle Atlas Mountains**, south-central Morocco, the **Rif**, and Sened in Tunisia and by the **Tuareg** to refer to the language they speak. Other communities in western Algeria refer to their language as "taznatit" or "Zanati," while **Kabyles** call theirs "thaqvaylith," the inhabitants of **Siwa** "tasiwit," and the Zenaga "Tudhungiya." In general, although the classification of Berber lan-

guages is somewhat capricious, linguists and anthropologists seem to agree on five variants of Tamazight languages: Eastern Berber languages, Northern Berber languages, **Guanches**, Tamasheq languages, and Zenaga.

The Eastern Berber languages are spoken in regions of Libya and Egypt. Variants of Tamazight include Awjila, Sawknah, and Nafusi in Libya and Tasiwit in Egypt. The Northern Berber languages form a continous linguistic band throughout North Africa, stretching from Tunisia through the Sahara to Morocco. In Morocco, it consists of Tashalhiyt, Judeo-Berber, Tamazight, Tarifit, and other Zanati enclaves. In Algeria, it is composed of the following dailects: thaqvaylith, Beni Snous, Achacha, Ouarsenis, Bel Halima, Harraoua, Chenoua, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Ouargli, and other Zenati languages. In Tunisia, Tamzight takes the forms of Sened and Djerbi. Guanche is an extinct language, and it is said by linguists to have been the language spoken on the Canary Islands until the end of the 16th century.

The Tuareg language group consists of Tamasheq, Tamajaq, and Tamahaq, which are spoken in parts of Algeria, Libya, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso, and Chad. This group is mutually comprehensible and is considered to constitute a single language. These languages have been historically written in the **Tifinagh** alphabet; however, the Arabic alphabet is commonly used among some groups, while the Latin alphabet is used in Mali and Niger. Tuareg languages are divided into northern and southern languages. The northern variant includes Tamahap, also known as Tahggart, spoken in southern Algeria and northern Niger. The southern group consists of Tamasheq spoken among the Kel Adrar in Mali, Tayart Tamajaq aamong the Kel Aïr in Niger, and Tawallammat Tamajaq among the Iwellemmeden in Mali and Niger. Zenaga is spoken by mostly pastoral nomadic communities in Adrar, Dekhlet-Nouadhibou, Inchiri, Mderdra, Tagant, Tiris Zemmour, and Trarza in Mauritania.

In general, Tuareg languages are distincly different from most of the Berber languages, for they provide purer and less Arabized forms of Berber, with a more elaborate grammar structure and a negligible amount of loanwords from Arabic. Today, as the revival of the Berber language is considered one of the most significant factors of the affirmation of Berber identity, Tuareg languages are considered precious linguistic data critical for the rehabilitation and revitalization of

Tamazight across the Maghreb. *See also* ARABIZATION; BERBER DAHIR; CHAR BOUBBA.

L`ANSART. This term refers to June 24, or Midsummer Day. On this day, fires are made, and men, women, and children leap over them, believing that by doing so they will cleanse themselves of evil (*lbas*) that may be clinging to them. People also fumigate themselves and their houses, livestock, fields, and threshing floors with the smoke of various herbs, incenses, and leaves of trees to protect them from the evil eye and to keep them in good condition. This day is also believed to be ideal for the practice of magic and witchcraft, as certain magic forces are supposed to be active in certain species of vegetation. It is said that the imam of the mosque, as the keeper of the calendar, refrains from naming the day of *l'ansart* for fear of its being used by witches to do harm to others.

LITERATURE. This is a very significant aspect of Berber culture and heritage. Poets of all sorts would recite histories and cultural traditions, and this oral stock was and is the basis of much of the Berber literature, which has been written largely in French. Despite the dominance and favoritism of Arabic, especially in North Africa, French is and remains the dominant means of expression among many Berber writers and poets. The great **Kabyle** poet Si Mohand ou-M'hand is a good example of this tradition. **Mouloud Feraoun**, **Mouloud Mammeri**, **Jean Amrouche**, **Marguerite Taos-Amrouche**, Mohammed Kaïr-Eddine, **Mohammed Choukri**, Malek Ouary**, Mano Dayak**, **Azayku Ali,** and Tassadit Yacine authored collections dealing with Berber culture, identity, and history. Recently, however, there have been timid, individual efforts in Morocco and Algeria to publish in **Tamazight**. Another aspect of this literary tradition involves the use of Arabic in writing down Berber artistic creations, *shari`a* and customs (*azerf*), and translation of the holy book of Islam, the Qur'an. This type of scholarly work in Arabic is encountered among the people of **Sous** and Ibadithe communities. The translation of the Qur'an and other Islamic studies publications by **Barghwata**, **Ibn Tumart**, **Zakariya Abu al-Warijlani**, **Mohamed al-Mokhtār al-Soussi**, **Addessalam Yassine**, and **Jouhadi al-Houssain al-Ba'amrani** are good examples of this approach.

During Roman times, Berber societies produced great literary figures who penned their works in Latin. Marcus Cornelius Fronto (A.D. 110–180), a native of Cirta (Constantine, Algeria), was a proponent of older styles of Latin and was a teacher of Marcus Aurelius. Lucius Appuleius (A.D. 125–170) from Madaure (M'Daourouch, Algeria) was the author of the *Metamorphoses* and particularly the *Golden Ass*, the story of a man transformed into a donkey before Isis returns him to a human shape. Minucius Felix, a lawyer from Thelepe (Tebessa, Algeria), was a Christian convert who authored the dialogue *Octavius*, which is said to represent the earliest Christian work written in Latin. The most famous figure was **Saint Augustine** (A.D. 354–430) from Thagaste (Souk Ahras, Algeria), the bishop of Hippo and author of *Confessions* and *The City of God*.

– M –

MAGHRAWA. One of the largest historic Berber dynasties, a member of the **Zanata** group, which at the time of the first westward push of the Arabs around 650 occupied present-day Algeria. They were among the first North African peoples who embraced Islam, recognized the spiritual supremacy of the caliph, and fought in the ranks of the Arab army led by 'Uqba Ibn Nafi' into the Atlas region and on to Tangier (682–683). In 786, under the leadership of Mohammed Ibn Khazir, the Maghrawa conquered Tlemcen but were soon displaced by the Idrisids. From 825 to 829, the Maghrawa revolted against and killed a Fatimid ally, Massala of the Maknassa, and then were subsequently beaten by a Fatimid army under Abu Al Qassim, who took over Tlemcen. In 976, again as allies of the Ummayads in Spain and under the leadership of Khazrun Ibn Fulful, the Maghrawa conquered **Sijilmassa** with the oases in the surrounding area south of the **Middle Atlas** from the Banu Midrar, a Maknassa clan who had built the city in 757. Ibn Fulful established an Umayyad protectorate over his territory. In 973, when the Umayyad Ghalib invaded Morocco, the Fatimid influence was eliminated except for a brief period when the **Sanhaja** chieftain Buluggin Ibn Ziri inflicted a defeat on Maghrawa and pushed most of the Maghrawa people into central Morocco.

In general, from 973, the Zanata tribes Maghrawa, Banu Ifran, and **Maknassa** governed Morocco for the Sunni Ummayads. In the middle of the 11th century, the Maghrawa controlled most the **Sous** and Drâa, Sijilmassa, and Aghmat as well as Fès, where they had established themselves since 987. The Maghrawa period was one of warfare and tension between Sunni rule in Morocco and Kharijite rule further east that led to the destruction of the Tlemcen-Tahart-Sijilmassa corridor, transforming it from a thriving commercial region to a less prosperous nomadic area. By mid-century, they were beaten by the advancing **Almoravids.** Sijilmassa was lost in 1056 and Fès in 1069. The Almoravid assault put an end to the Maghrawa dynasty.

MAKNASSA. One of the large historic **Zanata** dynasties that in pre-Islamic times migrated from present-day Libya and Tunisia into Algeria with Tahart as a center. Many of its members then moved on into eastern and central Morocco, gradually expanding in the Malwiyya valley and further into the **Rif** Mountain lands as well as toward the plains bordering the Atlantic coasts. Some of their clans were among the troops that in the seventh century under **Tariq Ibn Ziyad** set out for the conquest of Spain. These groups settled the so-called Fahs al-Bullut (Highland of the Acorn Fields, today Los Petroches) north of Cordoba and in the region of Saragossa, where the place name of Mequinensa still recalls its one-time inhabitants.

In Morocco, the Maknassa laid out in a fertile countryside an agglomeration of settlements that were to develop into the cities of Meknes and Taza. They also founded in the oases of **Tafilalet,** on the border of the Sahara, the town of **Sijilmassa**. Masala Ibn Habus, an outstanding Maknassa chieftain who had espoused the Kharijite doctrine, subdued in 912 Tahart, the former Rustumid imamate, and was entrusted with the governorship of the town and the surrounding area. Next he conquered the Salihids (an Arab dynasty) principality of Nakur in 917. Then he took the Idrisid capital of Fès and the mountain region as far as Tlemcen in 922. Finally, he occupied Sijilmassa. Among all the tribes in central and northern Morocco, the various Maknassa groups put up the most tenacious resistance to the advancing **Almoravid** armies impelled by the force of their great leader **Yusuf Ibn Tashafin** (1061–1107). After several battles against the

Almoravids, the Maknassas' élan was forever broken, but down to this day a tribal group in the area of Taza still bears their name.

MAMMERI, MOULOUD (1917–1989). His Berber name is Lmulud Ath M`ammar, and he was born in Taourirt Mimoun in Greater Kabylia. Mammeri was a novelist, poet, and playwright. He was one of Algeria's greatest francophone literary figures, and he devoted all his life to the promotion of Berber culture and **language**. His name is synonymous with the Algerian Berber movement. In 1980, the Algerian authorities canceled his lecture on Berber culture (Berber poetry) at the University of Tizi Ouzou. This instigated the bloody events of the **Berber Spring**.

Mammeri attended elementary school in his native village. After a long stay in Rabat (Morocco), he returned to Algiers, where he attended the Lycée Bugeaud and the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris. He planned to enroll in the École Normale Supérieure, but World War II broke out, and he took part in the American campaigns in Italy, France, and Germany. He was active in the war of independence and was a member of the team that drafted a report to the United Nations on the Algerian decolonization question. Hunted by the French police, he fled to Morocco and stayed there until independence.

After independence, Mammeri became a professor at the University of Algiers. The endowed chair of Berber studies was eliminated in 1962, and Mammeri managed to teach a course on Berber ethnology. In 1969, he became director of the Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques, Préhistoriques et Ethnographiques (CRAPE). During his tenure as director of this center and because of the vacuum left by the departing French archaeologists and ethnographers, he devoted his energies to the development of anthropological research on Berber oral **literature**, culture, and ethnomusicology. His ethnographic approach to the study of Algerian society was not accepted by the state authorities, as the latter regarded ethnography as embodying the intentions of the colonial research schemes. This led to his removal from the directorship of the center in 1978. Despite these difficulties, he continued working on Berber issues. In 1982, he established the Centre d'études et de recherches amazigh (CERAM) in Paris, with the journal *Awal* (The Word) dedicated to research on Berber issues.

Similar to other writers of his generation, his literary legacy, be it in French or Berber, tells of the cultural struggles at the intersection of North African (especially Berber) and French culture. His novels in French include *La colline oubliée* (1952); *Le sommeil du juste* (1955); *L'opium et le bâton* (1965); *La traversée* (1982), which tells of his own disillusionment with postindependence Algeria; *L'ahelil du Gourara* (1985); and *Culture savante, culture vécue* (1938–1989). His plays are *Le Banquet, précèdé de la mort absurde des Aztèques* (1973) and *Le Foehn* (1982). His works concerning Berber culture and poetry are *les Iserfa, poèmes de Si Mohand ou Mhand* (1969), *Tajerrumt n tmazighte* (Berber Grammar, 1976), *Poèmes kabyles anciens* (1980), *Machaho and Tellem chaho* (1980), *Yenna-yas Chikh Mohand* (1989), and *Précis de grammaire Berbère* (Kabyle, 1986). On 25 February 1989 he died in an automobile accident.

MARINIDS (1244–1464). The Berber Marinid dynasty was founded by a clan of one the nomadic **Zanata** branches that had its territory on the fringe of the Sahara Desert between the oases of **Tafilalet** and Figuig. They refused to be fitted into the politicoreligious order of the **Almohads** state, were defeated by the Almohads in 1144, and were driven back into the desert. In 1245, in alliance with other Zanata groups, they pressed northward again as far as the **Rif** Mountains. By 1258, the Marinids had control of most of eastern and northern Morocco from the Drâa to **Sijilmassa** to Salé, Taza, and Fès. For a while, however, they were forced into obedience by the Almohads, the Hafsids, and the Zayyanid dynasty of `Abd al-Wadid in **Tlemcen**. The al-Wadid dynasty was led by Yaghmurasan, and they seem to have been threatened and so supported the Almohads. In the 14th century, the Marinids briefly conquered much of Algeria (including Tlemcen in 1337) and Tunis in 1347, but their hold was ephemeral except for parts of Algeria. The probable motive behind pressing eastward was to obtain the profits from the trans-Saharan trade, which had moved largely east with the decline of Ghana and the Empire of Mali in the 14th century. During the last century of the Marinid period, the state was ruled by Wattasid vizirs (1420–1458) followed by Wattasid sultans (1465–1549).

One of the major limitations of the Marinid dynasty was that it was not founded on a religious doctrine and its rulers could not claim

special religious status to legitimize their leadership. They encountered difficulties in Fès, where the local elites considered Marinid claims to rule inferior claims to legitimacy than their own, Idrisid ancestry. To thwart local opposition and close the religious deficit, the Marinids promoted Islamic education (Maliki School of law) and a legalistic scholarly approach to religion through a *madrasa* system in major urban centers. They were also tolerant of Jews, maybe because the Muslim elite was so antagonistic, and the Marinid period is viewed as a golden era for Moroccan Judaism. Architecture, commerce, and culture flourished during the Marinid tenure. The tolerance of non-Muslims and the inability to claim special religious status damaged their claims to power and enabled the Wattasid takeover, the development of autonomous states such as the town of Chefchaouen established by Sharifs, and the subsequent Sa`diyin invasion. In the years of the dynasty's fall, a Marinid branch established in the northeastern region of Morocco an independent emirate with its seat in the mountainous fortress of Dabdou. It maintained itself until the first quarter of the 16th century largely with the help of the Muslim and Jewish refugees from Spain to whom it offered asylum after the fall of Granada in 1492. By the beginning of the 16th century, the Wattasid sultan Mohammed al-Sheikh (1472–1505) peacefully incorporated the emirate into Moroccan territory.

MASHISH IBN `ABD AL-SALAM AL-HASANI.** He was one of the most popular Moroccan saints (ca. 1228). He was born in the mountain region of the Jbala al-`Alam southeast of Tetouan, obviously of Berber origin but later attributed a genealogy going back to the Prophet's family and thus was elevated to Sharifian, or holy rank. He died, being assassinated a "false prophet," a supporter of the **Marinids in their struggle against the declining **Almohad** rule, who apparently viewed the saint's influence on the people a danger for their own politicoreligious purposes. Around Ibn Mashish's name, whose tomb on the top of a mountain remained a lodge of local reverence, a circle of legends and tales about the miracles he had performed was woven over time. Some 200 years after his death, his veneration began to spread all over northern Morocco, and from the 16th century on, he was revered in North Africa as a *qutb* (a pillar or focus of mystical worship).

MASMUDA. Ibn Khaldun distinguished three major groups among the Berbers: **Zanata**, **Sanhaja**, and Masmuda. He ascribed to each a separate genealogy leading to a common eponymous ancestor. Each of these groups consisted of a larger number of tribes that, in the case of Masmuda and Zanata, lived separated from each other and led different ways of life. The Masmuda branches and subgroups occupied the major parts of Morocco: the Ghommara all over the **Rif** as far as the straits and southward into the plains by the Abu Ragrag and Sabou rivers; their neighbors, the **Barghwata**, as far as the Oum al-Rabi`, which separated them from the Doukkala; further south, down to the Tansift River, the Ragraga; and gradually gaining the hill country, the Haha, and a number of minor groupings.

In the middle of the 12th century, the Masmuda of the mountains and those of the plains united in their common faith in the religio-political doctrine preached by the Mahdi **Ibn Tumart** among the Hargha and Hintata in the western part of the **High Atlas**. Their union forged the **Almohad** Empire, the mightiest concentration of power in North Africa, and the frame of some of its splendid cultural achievements. When it started to lose its control, another family of Masmuda blood, the **Hafsid**, descendants of Ibn Tumart's devoted follower Abu Hafs `Umar of the Hintata, built up their power in Tunisia, which they controlled until the beginning of the 16th century. Today, the descendants of the ancient Masmuda are known as Shluh, making up the mass of Berber population in the High and **Middle Atlas**.

MAYSARA AL-MATGHARI. He was the leader of a revolt (738–740) against Arab domination of several Berber tribes particularly exacerbated by the harsh rule of the Arab governor of Tangier. He was a Matghara tribesman who had made a living as a waterman in Al-Qayrawan, and he brought about, under the influence of the heterodox Kharijite doctrine, an alliance of the Matghara, **Maknassa**, and **Barghwata** confederations. They took up arms, soon became masters of Tangier, and repelled the Arab troops sent from Spain to establish order. As a result, Maysara assumed the title of caliph and with such pride that he was assassinated by his own people. Under his successor, Khalid Ibn Ahmed, a **Zanata** chieftain, the confederates conquered the plains of the **Sous** on the Atlantic coast and routed an army of the caliph at the banks of the Sabou River in the so-called

Ghazwat al-ashraf (Battle of the Nobles) of 740. A second army was beaten the following year, and the revolt spread. It was finally subdued in two battles at the gates of al-Qayrawan in 742.

MEDIA. While audiovisual and print media are under the control of the state, the emergence of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has reconfigured the production and consumption of old and new forms of media in the public sphere. Given the authoritarian nature of most government in Berber country, the use of modern and mobile technology has radically transformed the media landscape in three critical ways. First, it provided Berber activists with alternative and effective ways to debate all things Berber and to short-circuit government censorship bureaus, which had for so long muffled Berber initiatives. Second, the arrival of ICTs complemented very nicely the blooming Berber sociopolitical and cultural awakening. Third, ICTs provide tools of communication that defy the constraints of geography and time. This latter dimension has been more critical in the sense that it allowed Berbers to build imagined and virtual communities and break away from government control of traditional forms of media, such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and film.

Print, audio, and digital media encompass a wide range of independent and start-up publications that speak to Berber issues and aspirations. Many Amazigh publications can be found in Berber country newsstands and bookstores. Some are published locally, while others are imported from abroad, especially France, Spain, Belgium, and Holland. In Morocco, there are several newspapers and magazines, most of which are trilingual (Berber, Arabic, and French or Spanish), and focus on Berber culture, language, and history. These are *Amud*, *Tasafut*, *Tamagit*, *Tiwiza*, *Agraw*, *Tamunt*, *Tidmi*, *Adrar*, *Tilelli*, *Tifawt*, ***Tifinagh***, *Libika*, *Tawiza*, *Agraw*, *Amazigh* magazine, *Le Monde Amazigh*, and the first weekly, *Amazigh* magazine, and *Tamazight*. In Algeria, there are the monthly sociocultural magazine *Izuran* and *La Dépêche de Kabylie*. In France, given its colonial history in Berber country, all forms of media are developed to their fullest thanks to the endeavors of Berber migrant communities energized by the second-generation interest in Berber and global questions. Some on- and offline publications in France and the Canary Is-

lands include *Parimazigh*, *Awal*, *Imazighen ass-a*, *Issalan n Temoust*, *La Lettre d'Enfants de l'Adrar des Iforas*, *Notes de linguistique Berbère*, and *Diario de canarias*.

Internet sites have also boomed over the past two decades. These sites include amazigh-voice.com, aureschaouia.free.fr, chawinet.com, congres-mondial-amazigh.org, Kabyle.com, kidal.info, membres.lycos.fr/temoust/, mondeberbere.com, tamazight.biz, tamazgha.fr, tamazigh.org, and tawalt.com. National and transnational radio and television stations include Berber Radio and Television (BRTV) and Radio Amazigh BRTV (France), Radio Chaine 2 (Algeria), Radio Erif (Morocco), and Amazigh Montreal Radio (Canada), some of which are available online.

MIDDLE ATLAS MOUNTAINS. This is a mountain chain located in north-central Morocco. It covers an estimated area of 28,000 square kilometers and runs for about 400 kilometers from north to south. The landscape of the Middle Atlas is a region consisting of different zones with great variations in altitude and in annual precipitation. It is composed of two major parts: high plateaus with an elevation ranging from 1,100 to 2,100 meters as well a conventional mountain chain reaching an elevation of 2,500 meters in some areas. Its topography dominates the surrounding lowlands and is characterized by a Mediterranean climate, with sufficient snow accumulation and rainfall for the practice of **pastoral nomadism** and rain-fed **agriculture**. Lying on the northern edge of the mountain range, the Sais plain forms one of Morocco's most favored rainfall areas, receiving an average annual precipitation of 600 to 700 millimeters. The area of the plain that joins the foothills of the Middle Atlas is called the *dir*, or slope. It is a well-watered area, forested and covered with green pastures throughout the hot and dry summer period. Early in the French Protectorate (1912–1956), the French discovered that the climate and soils of the Sais were suitable for grapevines, and it became a center of viniculture as well as the site of intensive land appropriation schemes.

The area is home to several **Tamazight**-speaking **Sanhaja** tribes who make up several confederations known as Aït Idrassen, Aït Oumalou, and Aït Yaflman. The Aït Idrassen incorporate Aït Ihand, Aït `Ayyash, Aït Oufella, Aït Youssi, Aït Ndhir, Mjatt, Aït Ouallal,

Imelwan, Aït Yemmour, and Aït Sadden. The Aït Oumalou (literally, "people of the shade") are composed of Ishqeren, Beni Mguild, Ishaq, Zayan, and Aït Sukhman. The Aït Yaflman (literally, "those who found peace") incorporate a number of tribes located at the southern end of the **High Atlas** around Midelt. They consist of the Aït Yahia, Aït Hdiddou, Aït Morghad, Aït Izdey, and Guerwan.

MOHA OU HAMMOU ZAYANI. He was a member of the Aït Harkat tribe of the Zayan confederation. In 1877, he became the caid of the Zayan confederation, and he ruled from his citadel in the city of Khenifra, which is located on the banks of the Oum Errabi' River. To supplement his pastoral and agricultural activities, the location of his citadel allowed him to collect right of passage taxes on transhumant nomads as well as on traders.

Moha ou Hammou was the leader of resistance in the **Middle Atlas Mountains** during the establishment of the French Protectorate in Morocco in 1912 and before. During the reign of Sultan Moulay Yusuf (1912–1927), which overlapped with the arrival of Louis-Hubert Lyautey's protectorate projects, resistance activity against French occupation intensified. Having allied himself with the sultan for several years, he was able to acquire firearms, and this allowed him to mobilize Zayan men and call for a jihad against the French presence. In 1914, when French troops occupied the fief of Moha ou Hammou and controlled his capital, Khenifra, he and his followers retreated to the surrounding hills to prepare their revenge. On 13 November, they came down from the hills, set up camp in the village of Elhri (about 15 kilometers south of Khenifra), and launched a devastating attack on the French. The French lost 23 officers, 580 soldiers, 8 cannons, and 10 machine guns. This attack is referred to as the Battle of Elhri and still remains a cause célèbre of Zayan social history. However, this victory was short lived, as the French regrouped and returned in full force to pursue Moha ou Hammou in the rugged terrain of the Middle Atlas Mountains. The search went on for six years until 1920 when he was killed with arms in his hands. *See also* `ASSOU OU BASLAM; AL-KHATTABI ADELKARIM.

MOUVEMENT NATIONAL POPULAIRE (MNP). This political party was formed in July 1991 by **Mahjoubi Ahardan** after he was

forced from the leadership of the **Mouvement Populaire** (MP) by Mohand Laenser. Despite its average election results since 1991, it has received less than half the votes of the reorganized Mouvement Populaire. In 2002 national elections, it won 18 seats in the parliament.

MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE (MP). This is a political party in Morocco, and it is known by its Arabic name, Al Haraka al-Sha`biyyah. It emerged soon after the achievement of the country's independence, originally in the **Rif** regions among the former officers of the Liberation Army (*Jaysh al-Tahrir*), but quickly spread also among the people of the Atlas and the Tafilalet. During its early formative stages, the party embodied the resentment felt by certain members toward the dominating position and usurpation of power by members of the Istiqlal Party who had never participated in the actual combat. The founding members were Haddu Rifi, a lieutenant in the Liberation Army; Doctor `Abd al-Karim, a physician of Casablanca; and Mahjoubi Ahardan, former captain in the French army, then governor of the province of Rabat.

The movement rapidly gained a growing number of adherents and sympathizers, especially in the armed forces, but also made many potent enemies. Hence, in 1957, it came forth with a party program, but it was banned allegedly because of illegal formation, and Mahjoubi Ahardan was removed from office. Yet the tensions in the Rif and the **Tafilalet** regions increased and, in October 1958, broke out into serious disturbances on the occasion of the funeral of a Berber commander (`Abbes Massaadi) of the Liberation Army, assassinated allegedly by Ben Barka in Fès (Pennell 2000, 304), which was attended by 5,000 tribesmen and conducted by Dr. Khatib and Mahjoubi Ahardan. A few days later, both men were arrested. This was the beginning of a popular rising directed against the regime and politics of the Istiqlal Party that started in Oulmes, Ahardan's native region in the **Middle Atlas**, and spread southward into the valleys of the **High Atlas** and the Tafilalet region. In December 1958, a new cabinet came to power, Khatib and Ahardan were set free, and the Mouvement Populaire was formally recognized. Subsequently, both men were entrusted with numerous positions in the government of Morocco. The party has been resolutely royalist since its formation, and this may explain its prolonged existence.

The Mouvement Populaire has primarily a rural base. It stands for rural smallholders and the landless poor as well as low-skilled urban labor. Its programs stress improved social services, agricultural cooperatives, and state-based development equitably distributed between rural and urban areas. The party wants to secure the poor and the marginalized a measure of influence on social and economic policy, commensurate with its position as the majority of the population. In 1986, Mahjoubi Ahardan was removed from the position of leadership in the MP and then formed a new party, the **Mouvement National Populaire**. The reorganized Mouvement Populaire, under Mohand Laenser, has increased its share of parliamentary seats since the 1993 elections. In the 2002 elections, it won 27 seats.

MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE DÉMOCRATIQUE ET CONSTITUTIONEL (MPDC). This political party is an offshoot of the **Mouvement Populaire** established in February 1967 by Doctor `Abd al-Karim Khatib after he was ousted from the Mouvement Populaire on 4 November 1966. Its secretary-general, Doctor Khatib, was one of the leading founders of the Mouvement Populaire. The MPDC won no seats in 1993. In 1992, Doctor Khatib joined forces with the Attawhid wa al-Islah association and founded the progovernment Islamist party, Parti de la Justice et Développement (PJD). In the 2002 national elections, the PJD won 42 seats.

MOUVEMENTS ET FRONTS UNIFIÉS DE L'AZAOUAD (MFUA). *See* FRONT ISLAMIQUE ARABE DE L'AZAOUAD; FRONT POPULAIRE DE LIBÉRATION DE L'AZAOUAD.

MOZABITES. They are known as Banu Mzab or simply Mzab, a Berber community of the heterodox Ibadithe sect, the survivors of the once-flourishing Rustimid imamate of **Tahart** or the city-republic of Sadrata, which succeeded it. Tahart is located near the town of Ouargala in the Algerian Sahara. Driven out of Sadrata in the middle of the 11th century, the Ibadithes withdrew into the arid and inhospitable limestone highland of the Shabka, some 645 kilometers south of the capital city, Algiers. There, on the Mzab River, hence the name under which they are currently known, through hard work they created large groves of date trees irrigated by a dense network of chan-

nels. These plantations requiring large investments of labor and capital are not to be viewed, however, from the point of view of economic returns. In fact, their maintenance is made possible only by the earnings of the Mozabite merchants and capitalists established all over Algeria.

The Mozabites live in a loose confederation of seven small urban settlements that grew up between the 11th and 17th centuries. These seven cities of the M'zab are Beni Isguen, Ghardaïa, Melika, Bounoura, Elateuf, Guerrara, and Berriane, with Ghardaïa as the largest and most important urban center of the Mzab country. Each town constitutes a sort of theocratic republic governed by two assemblies: one, the *halqa* (circle), of 12 religious heads (*I`zzaban*) and the other consisting of laymen in charge of the administration and police affairs. Civil and penal jurisdiction lay exclusively in the hands of the *I`azzaban* and was based on their interpretation of the Qur'an and the *Hadith* (sayings and practices of the Prophet). These commentaries were compiled in numerous collections until Sheikh `Abdel `Aziz of the town of Bni Isguen codified them in the 10 volumes of his *Kitab al-Nil*. Following the incorporation into the Algerian administration of the Mozabite territory (1882) after it had already been declared (1853) a French protectorate, certain reforms were introduced into this code, but most of them remained practically unobserved, so that the French policymakers thought it wise to exempt the Mozabites from the innovations introduced in 1959 into the traditional legislation regulating marriage and divorce in Algeria. After independence, Sheikh Buyud Ibrahim was designated to represent the Mozabite community in the government of the Algerian Republic.

The desert environment and the isolation of their homeland have never stopped the Mozabites from gaining a place in the economy of Algeria. In Ottoman times, certain occupations, such as the running of public baths of slaughterhouses or mills, were almost exclusively under their control. Today, about one-sixth of the male population (women are not allowed ever to leave the Mzab River region) seeks commercial success on the markets of the larger Algerian towns and cities in various commercial enterprises. Other Ibadithe communities are found in the Tunisian island of Jerba and the Jbal Nefusa in Libya. *See also* KHARIJISM.

MUSIC. Berber music is derived from a blending of rural, urban, and global expressions and styles. Music is almost invariably associated with poetry and various modes of singing and dancing. Traditional Berber music could be divided into two major categories: collective celebrations and professional musicians. While collective music involves village- or family-wide participation in such performances as *ahidus* and *ahwash*, professional music, referred to as *imdyazan* or *rways*, consists of traveling bands of two or four musicians, led by a poet called *amdyaz* or *rays*. Traditional music uses a wide array of instruments consisting of flutes, drums, lute-like instruments (*wtar* and *rebab*), fiddles, and ghaitas (pipe-like instrument). Musical performances usually start with an instrumental session on *rebab* or *wtar*, followed by a tambourine/drum and a flute, which gives the notes and the rhythms of the melody that follows. The next phase is the *amarg*, or sung poetry, followed by dancing. In Morocco, some of the most popular singers of this genre are Mohamed Rouicha, Hadda Ou `Akki and Bannassar Ou Khouya, Cherifa, Najat A`tabu, Tihihit, Taba`amrant, Al Haj Bal`id, and Demseri, to mention a few.

Unlike Moroccan Berber music, **Kabyle** music was known outside North Africa as early as the 1930s, especially in France. The extensive rural-to-urban and international migration has transformed Kabyle music in many ways. The denial of recognition of Berber culture and **language** by postcolonial governments has also had a considerable impact on the production of Berber music on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea. The centrality of poetry in Berber life to speak truth to oppression and power has led to a passionate interest in the songs of culturally and politically engaged artists such as Slimane Azem, Chérifa, Akli Yahyatene, Hanifa, Kamal Hamadi, Ferhat, Aït Menguellet, Matoub Lounes, and Idir. Many Berber musicians were and are persecuted or even killed, as in the case of Matoub Lounes in Algeria. In France, where there is a significant Berber diaspora in search of its roots, Idir and Aït Menguellet are widely popular and have come to represent the symbols of Berberism or **Tamazgha**. In the early 1970s, Idir had the first international hit for Kabyle music, and he is said to have ushered in the new age of the world-beat genre.

Tuareg traditional music uses rhythms and vocal styles similar to the music of other Berbers and tends to lean most often toward the

call-and-response style of singing modes. In contrast to other Berber groups, among the Tuareg, music is mostly the domain of **women**, who are held in high esteem as *imzad* players (a one-string instrument like a violin) and poetesses. Music celebrations for the most part center on the performance of *ahal*, which is an amorous gathering of young men and women to recite poetry. Tuareg courtship ceremonies such as the *tendi* and *ahal* center on the vocal trilling of women, special dances, and singing of love poetry marking the occasion. Tuareg have produced internationally renowned bands in Tartit and Tinariwen. Other remarkable experiments in modern Berber music include Ousman, Imazighen, Izanzaren, Ammouri Mbarek, Djur Djura, Slimane Azem, Cherif Kheddam, Afous, Takfarinass, and Yani, among many. In general, Berber music is informed by social and political protest and fuses traditional music and modern styles, adding a hybrid dimension to Berber voices enabling them to reclaim their place in the world.

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NATIONAL PACT. A pact signed on 12 April 1992 between **Tuareg** military and political groups and the Malian government to end the **Tuareg Revolt of 1990–1992**. The pact granted important concessions to the peoples of the north: **Tuareg** and Maure. The negotiations were mediated by the French and the Algerians, who also acted as guarantors of the pact's implementation. The pact was a major achievement for the transitional government of President Amadou Toumani Touré. Regrettably, this pact collapsed in mid-1994 when three Tuareg groups withdrew their men from the Malian armed forces.

NUMIDIA. This refers to the ancient kingdom of eastern Algeria with its seat of power in Cirta, present-day Constantine. It gained eminence during the reign of Berber kings such as Masinissa and Jugurtha. After Rome's defeat of Jugurtha in 106 B.C., Mauritania took control of western Numidia. Numidian kings were caught in internal power struggles, and this weakened Numidia further. Eventually, Juba II left Numidia to govern Mauritania. Mauritania and

Numidia were soon absorbed in the Roman Empire. Numidia was invaded by the Vandals in the fifth century and by the Arabs in the eighth. The main urban centers of ancient Numidia were Cirta (now Constantine) and Hippo Regius (now Annaba). *See also* AUGUSTINE; CHAOUIA.

– O –

OUFKIR, MAJOR GENERAL MOHAMMED (1924–1972). He was born in the Aït Saghrouchene village of Ain Cha`ir between Boudnib and Bouanane in eastern Morocco. His father was a caid, and he facilitated the French invasion of southern Morocco and **Tafilalet** and was rewarded for his services after 1912 with the caidate of Boudnib. As a *fils de notables*, Oufkir graduated from the Berber normal school of Azrou and the military academy of Meknes. In 1943, he took part in the Allied expeditionary corps in Italy. From 1947 to 1950, he served as a commando officer in the French army in Indo-China. In 1950, he served in the general staff of the French army as a liaison officer with the Royal Palace. In 1955, Sultan Mohammed V appointed him as his aide-de-camp.

His liaison post was crucial at the time, as he worked as an intermediary between the French and the exiled king Mohammed V. This gained him trust and access in the new independent state. During the **Rif Revolt** of 1958–1959, he was in charge of repressing the Rif rebels, and his ruthless tactics gained him the post of minister of interior in 1961. In 1960, Oufkir reorganized the Moroccan military forces and became the director the Sûreté Nationale to control dissidents. In 1964, he was appointed, once again, minister of the interior, and during the same year he was promoted to the rank of general. After the abortive coup d'état of Skhirat in 1971, he became the minister of defense and was promoted to major general of the army.

He is remembered for his brutal repression of the 1965 riots of Casablanca and was accused and convicted in the adduction and presumed later death of Mehdi Ben Barka. This latter event led to a cooling in Franco-Moroccan relations until the end of the decade. In the *coup manqué* of 1971, Oufkir, who was present in Skhirat, was not accused of complicity and was responsible for the rounding up of

various people implicated in the coup. In the second abortive coup in 1972, the pilots implicated Oufkir, and he is said to have died from self-inflicted multiple wounds to the body on 17 August 1972. He is buried in his native village, Ain Cha`ir. *See also* MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE.

– P –

PARTI DE LA JUSTICE ET DÉVELOPPEMENT (PJD). *See* MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE DÉMOCRATIQUE ET CONSTITITIONEL (MPDC).

PASTORAL NOMADISM. Historically, Berbers were almost entirely nomadic peoples until the modern times ushered in by colonialism. Although some groups practiced semipastoral nomadism and engaged in seasonal and flood-based agriculture, the pastoral economy was supplemented by trading, raiding, escorting services, and above all herding. The herds were composed mainly of sheep, goats, and camels. Because of the diversity of the ecology of Berber country, modes of pastoral nomadism varied from one region to another. Some groups practiced transhumance, or seasonal migration, between high and low lands, while others tended to concentrate around wells or other points of water, such as springs and ponds. The Aït Atta of southern Morocco and some **Tuareg** groups are good examples of these pastoral nomadic strategies. This way of life was (and still is in some areas) a constant battle for survival in arid and semiarid zones, known for their highly variable rainfall and recurrent cycles of **drought**. Although limited by the scarcity of water and pasture, nomads have developed coping mechanisms in the form of using multiple subsistence strategies combining agriculture and herding to contain risk and making a living in lands with little or no rain at all. Nomads have also developed sophisticated cognitive skills about sense of direction, knowledge of the stars, and funds of ecological knowledge of desert and mountain landscapes. Furthermore, because of conflict over maintenance and management of scarce resources, nomads have been associated with the presence of maraboutic lodges and saints to keep law and order over contested water and pasture resources.

From the 1960s to the present, many groups have abandoned pastoral nomadism partly because a series of droughts has destroyed their herds and also because of the expansion of economic and administrative infrastructure made necessary by the plans to explore and exploit mineral resource and opportunities to receive drought relief, education, and above all wage labor in villages and small towns. Moreover, following the devastating droughts of the 1960s, most governments launched sedentarization programs and established agricultural villages for drought-stricken nomads throughout Berber land. Today, with the exception of pastoral nomads in naturally endowed areas with reliable water and pasture, pastoral nomadism has almost ceased in the great Sahara, and most nomads have settled down either in villages and towns or in **refugee** camps, as in the case of some Tuareg groups in Mali, Niger, and Algeria.

In general, pastoral-nomadic social organization is based on what anthropologists call the segmentary lineage model. The notion of segmentation stresses the fact that order and peace are maintained not by specialized agencies or institutions of a state but by the balanced opposition that unites forces and alliances in case of external threats. Such societies are divided into groups, which in turn further divide. All groups at the same level of segmentation are in balanced opposition, and this ensures that there will be groups in balanced opposition that can be mobilized in times of conflict. Another essential characteristic of pastoral-nomadic societies is the presence of the saints, like the Shorfa and the Murabitin Arabs, putative descendants of the Prophet and the holy saints, who mediate and resolve conflict over water and pasture resources. The elementary social unit of analysis is the household or *takat*, and a number of households form what is called an *igezdu*. Households belong to lineages, or *ighsan*. The **ighram**, or village, may shelter different lineages and often trace their genealogy to a common ancestor. Lineages are parts of clans, and a number of clans make up the *taqbilt* (tribe). Tribes, in turn, form confederations. The Aït Yaflman of the eastern **High Atlas** is a good example of a confederated group. *See also* AGDAL.

– Q –

QADIRIYA. The most important Muslim religious brotherhood (*tariqa*) in much of Niger, including the **Tuareg**. It was established

by Abdelkader al-Jilani (1077–1166) in Baghdad and disseminated to Morocco in the 1450s. The brotherhood was popular in Zinder, Tahoua, and **Agadez** but lost ground in the 1920s to the **Tijaniya** brotherhood. Its current strongholds are Zinder and Agadez, and it is prevalent among the Tuareg. *See also* ISLAM; ZAWIYA.

– R –

RAHMANIYA. This is a religious brotherhood established at the end of the 18th century in Kabylia by Mohammed `Abd al-Rahman (d. 1793) of the Aït Smai`il, a tribe in the Jurjura Mountains. He began his religious studies in Algiers and continued them at the Al-Azhar school in Cairo, where became deeply engaged in mystical doctrine and practice and also joined an Egyptian brotherhood. A legend has it that a miracle doubled his dead body, one being taken away by the Turks and buried at a place near Algiers and the other one remaining in his tomb at the brotherhood's lodge, hence his surname Abu Qabrayn (the man with the two tombs).

It was the Rahmaniya head, Mohammed Amzian Ibn al-Haddad, and his son al-`Aziz who in 1871 proclaimed jihad against the French intruders and started the most tenacious of the many **Kabyle** tribal insurrections. After its suppression by the French, al-`Aziz was sent into exile, and he escaped and settled in Jeddah (Saudi Arabia). Nevertheless, the Rahmaniya branched out further under various names into Algeria, Tunisia, and the oases throughout the Sahara Desert. *See also* ISLAM; ZAWIYA.

RASSEMBLEMENT POUR LA CULTURE ET LA DÉMOCRATIE (RCD). This is a secular Berber party born out of the Mouvement Culturel Berbère (MCB) in Algeria. It was founded by a human rights activist and former **Front des Forces Socialistes** (FFS) member, Said Saidi, in February 1989, two weeks after the national referendum on the authorization of a multiparty system. Because of its formation date, many analysts believe that the RCD was midwifed by government authorities to counterbalance the weight of the recently legalized Berber-based party Front des Forces Socialistes.

The RCD was formed as a Berber political party, focusing on Berber cultural and linguistic rights as well as broader democratization and human rights issues. The RCD and the FFS formed the

Mouvement Culturel Berbère (MCB) as an umbrella organization under which the two parties work on joint action to defend Berber rights. In 1999, the RCD joined the government, becoming the first postindependence Berber-dominated party to participate in a coalition government. While this may appear as a positive step in the direction of integrating the Berber dimension in Algerian politics, the RCD has proved to be infective in pushing forward Berber linguistic and cultural rights. Additionally, in the 1980s and 1990s, the Algerian regime faced the challenges of the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS; an Islamist movement) and other Islamic parties that hampered progress on Berber issues.

Said Saidi took part in the presidential election of November 1995. The RCD condemned the November 1996 constitutional change that privileges "Arab-Islamic values" (Islam as "the state religion" and Arabic as the only official language of the land and a prohibition of political parties founded on religious, linguistic, associative, or regionalist values) and discriminates against Berber **language** and culture.

In contrast to the FSS's reluctant moves in the Algerian political process, the RCD took part in municipal and parliamentary elections and backed the military's eradication of Islamists until April 2001 when the government gendarmes gunned down and murdered demonstrations and innocent bystanders in **Kabylia**. Since then, however, the party has joined in condemning the actions of the regime. The most recent legislative elections, the first since the military coup of 1992, were held in June 1997. The RCD won 19 seats out of a 380-member National People's Assembly (*al majlis al cha`bi al watani*).

REFUGEES. The causes of the **Tuareg** refugee problems reside in the wider context of the profound and, in many ways, catastrophic social, political, economic, and environmental changes that had affected the area for several decades prior to the refugee exodus. The result has been a progressive disruption of the fragile agropastoralist equilibrium on which the livelihood of the area depends. The destabilization of Tuareg historical territories was the long-term consequence of three main factors. First, French colonial rule and the subsequent rise of nation-states in the Saharan weakened the Tuareg tribes and ended their control of the trans-Saharan caravan trade that had been a major

source of income for them. Second, the environmental degradation brought about by 25 years of low rainfall between 1965 and 1990 worsened into the disastrous **droughts** of 1973 and 1984 and further destroyed the traditional livelihood of pastoral nomads. Finally, there was the marginalization of northern regions of Mali and Niger by the Malian and Nigerian governments in the years following independence in 1960. While northern regions comprise about 70 percent of the two countries' territories, they are home to only 10 percent of their populations, and government investment in these vast regions remained negligible to nonexistent.

The consequence of these factors led to the emergence of militant opposition, particularly among certain groups of young men in the Tuareg areas of the far northeast (**Kidal** and Menaka) who came to be known as *ishumar* (jobless). In 1963, the first rebellion in Kidal was harshly put down and led to the imposition of military rule in the area. The much more well-organized rebellions of 1990s, sparked by a parallel uprising in northern Niger, was spearheaded by Tuareg combatants who had earlier migrated to Libya in search of work and received military training there. The fighting led to the flight of some 150,000 persons from Mali to Algeria, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, and Niger between 1990 and 1994.

Currently, there are approximately 68,000 assisted Tuareg refugees in Burkina Faso and Mauritania and about 100,000 in Algeria from Mali and Niger. Tuareg refugee populations face three pressing and interrelated problematic issues. The first involves the urgent need for an assessment of the refugee resettlement programs, especially the extent to which the grievances and causes of the **Tuareg rebellions** of the 1990s have been addressed. The second is the prevailing insecurity spurred by the spillover of Algeria's Islamic struggles and politics into Tuareg territories. The third is the rise of banditry, warlordism, and smuggling of illegal goods across the Sahara, especially cigarettes, hard drugs, and arms, and the trafficking of illegal migrants to Europe. The "no-man's-land" image could potentially be the major problem facing Tuareg populations and refugees as mounting insecurity is increasing people's perceptions and fears that the causes that led to the Tuareg rebellions in the 1990s in Mali and Niger may resurface. *See also* PASTORAL NOMADISM; TUAREG REBELLIONS.

RIF. The Arabic term *rif* is a geographical notion that refers to the northern zone of Morocco formerly under Spanish and international control. It is an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, stretching in width from the Strait of Gibraltar to Oued Lukus and in length from the Atlantic coast to Oued Moulouya. People of the Rif region recognize three main confederations as well as territorial divisions: Rif, Ghommara, and **Sanhaja**. They also recognize a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains or hills people."

In the Rif, people of the Atlantic shore are called "Igharbiyen (westerners). To the west and southwest of the Rif is the Northern Sanhaja, which is composed of Berber-speaking Sanhaja Sghir or Little Sanhaja and the Arabophone Sanhaja. The Sanhaja confederation is composed of 10 tribes: Ktama, Aït Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aïth Kannus, Taghzut, Aïth Bu Nasr, Banu Bou Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aïth Bachir, and Zarqat. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains are two other Sanhaja confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhaja of the northern zone. Furthermore, Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have almost lost Berber speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghommara, and they may be descendants of immigrants or exiles. Targuist is another special case, as its cultural affiliation is obscured by the presence of holy families, alleged descendants of the Prophet who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Sanhaja and Ghommara generally view all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aïth Yahya and other tribes of the Kart and Moulouya valleys, this name applies to the tribes of the Oued Nkur watershed. This is a zone of transition between the "True Rif" (Aïth Waryaghar, Ibbuquyen, Aïth Ammarth, Igznayen, Aïth Tuzin, and Thimsaman) and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. There are two additional minor confederations within the eastern Rifian group: Iqar'ayen and Garet. However, the Ouled Stut are intrusive Arab Bedouins, like the Khult or mixed population of the Atlantic coast.

The Ghommara, whose territory extends along the Mediterranean coast from Oued Uringa to Oued Lao, consist of about nine tribes (Banu Bu Zran, Bani Mansur, Baun Khalid, Bani Sliman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih) and are sep-

arated from Sanhaja by the main mountain crest. Only a few villages of Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. Tradition has it that these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolteacher named Aghmir, believed to have migrated from the **Sous** or Saguia al Hamra region in southern Morocco. In sum, the eastern half of the northern zone (Rif and Garet) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala and Ghommara) has been Arabized.

In northern Morocco, three variants of the Berber language are spoken: Rifian, Sanhajan, and Ghmara. Rifian or Tarifith is by far the most important, and it varies somewhat from one area to another. Sanhajan speech is close to Rifian, and the difference between the two is probably as great as that between Spanish and Portuguese. The Ghmara speech is almost extinct and is spoken only in Bani Bu Zra and in a few villages of Bani Mansur and Bani Grir. *See also* AL-KHATTABI ABDELKARIM.

RIF REVOLT (1957–1959). After Moroccan independence, especially from 1957 to 1959, Rifian Berbers rose up to protest postindependence government policies of marginalization and neglect of northern Morocco. The revolts were ignited by the closure of the Algerian border to Rifian migration, leading to total unemployment and the lack of political representation at the level of the Moroccan government. In the midst of this discontent and disenchantment with the exclusionist attitudes of the Istiqlal (independence) Party (a nationalist and Arabist party) toward all things considered Berber, a disgruntled member of the Aïth Waryaghar and head of the local Parti Démocratique pour l'Indépendence (PDI), Muhammad nj-Hajj Sillam n-Muh Amzzyan, emerged to present the grievances of the Rifian Berbers to the Rabat government. On 11 November 1958, Amzzyan and two other members of the Aïth Waryaghar, Abd Sadaq Sharrat Khattabi and Abdelkarim al-Khattabi's son Rachid, submitted an 18-point program for the **Rif** to King Mohammed V. This program addressed many concerns of the Rifian population, ranging from the evacuation of foreign troops from Morocco and the return of **al-Khattabi Abdelkarim** to Morocco to the creation of jobs and political representation to tax reductions and rapid Arabization of education for all Moroccans.

However, by the time this program had been presented to the king, the Rif revolt had already been under way for almost three weeks. On 25 October 1958, the Ben Hadifa offices of the Istiqlal Party as well as those of Imzuren were stormed, and government soldiers were overpowered. It was at this point that the uprising took the form of a real revolt, reminding the authorities of Abdelkarim al-Khattabi's earlier independence movement. To put down the Rifian revolt, the neophyte Royal Army, under the leadership of then Crown Prince Moulay Hassan, dealt the Aïth Waryaghar a cruel punishment. By the end of January 1959, the Aïth Waryaghar were brutally repressed, and they came down from the mountains strongholds with resentment just as their fathers and grandfathers had done in the 1920s when Abdelkarim al-Khattabi surrendered to the combined colonial forces of France and Spain. The brutal repression of the Rif's revolt may suggest the reasons for Abdelkarim al-Khattabi's refusal to return to Morocco after independence. After the defeat of the Aïth Waryaghar, the Rif was subjected to military rule for a few years, and perhaps the most ruinous legacy of this uprising was the complete official neglect and marginalization of the area of insurrection by Moroccan authorities over the past five decades, resulting in its underdevelopment and pressing its population to emigrate to Europe.

– S –

SAMLALI AL-, ABU HASSOUN `ALI (?–1659).** He was popularly known as Abu Hassoun of the Illigh ***zawiya*** in the **Sous**, and he was also called the emir of the Sous region. He was one of the most prominent saints of in the last years of the Sa`diyin dynasty (1520–1660). He was a member of the Samlala clan—one of the branches of the Jazula tribe, the same from which had come forth two centuries earlier the great mystical teacher **al-Jazuli—and was born in the coastal town of Massa in southern Sous.

There is little information about al-Samlali's early life and career. When his name appears in history, he had already gained spiritual and political authority in the Sous region. Abu Hassoun's respected lineage, coupled with clever political maneuvering, gained him a large number of followers against his two main rivals: Abu Mahalli of the

Drâa valley and Yahya al-Hahi, a marabout of the Sous in alliance with the Sa`diyin dynasty. By 1630, he became the undisputed ruler of the south, with Illigh the capital of a principality replacing Sa`diyin authority. His dominance was based on the control of the caravan trade, the gold trade, and a military force supplied with arms by European traders, especially the Dutch.

After he eliminated his rivals in the Sous and established his power, Abu Hassoun carried his preaching and jihad deep into the Drâa valley and occupied **Sijilmassa**. His attempt to take hold of the **Tafilalet** oases brought him into collision with the **Dila** *zawiya* and the Alawite family who had settled there since the middle of the 13th century and refused to give ground. The conflict was appeased through intervention of the Dila brotherhood but broke out and ended with al-Samlali's departure from the Tafilalet and Drâa oases. His adversary, the Alawite Moulay `Ali al-Sharif, who soon afterward fell into his hands, was kept for some time in honorable captivity and was finally released for a significant ransom. In 1641, Moulay Ali al Sharif's son, Muhammad, had himself proclaimed sultan and chased Abu Hassoun from Tafilalet. Al-Samlali built up territories and formed a body politic extending over the greater part of the Anti-Atlas and the plain of Sous. He sustained a strong caravan trade with Sudan and the Senegal and was also engaged in profitable overseas commercial relations from the port of Massa with England and Holland. By 1670, Moulay Rachid managed to put an end to the Samlali independent kingdom of the Sous, paving the way for the ascendance of the Alawite dynasty.

SANHAJA. This is the name of one of the great historic Berber family of tribes. As early as the third century, some of their branches, such as the Hawwara, Lawata, Lamtuna, Massufa, and Guddala, seem to have migrated and slowly penetrated into the Sahara Desert. Gradually, the Sanhaja advanced into Mauritania and spread further into Sudan and the region of the Niger. Converted to **Islam**, they carried their belief systems among the peoples under their rule.

In Mauritania, the Massufa and the Lamtuna united with other small groups all belonging to the so-called *Mulaththamun*, or veil wearers, setting up a tribal kingdom that from the first quarter of the ninth century until the start of the 10th constituted a stabilizing force in the desert

society, controlling and policing the caravan trade to the Atlantic and Mediterranean ports. Soon afterward, these efforts led to the rise of the **Almohad** Empire amidst the Sanhaja tribes of Guddala and Lamtuna.

Other groups, such as the Jazula, Lamta, and Haskura, while remaining nomads or in early stages of transition to a semisedentary mode of life, migrated into the plains of the Moroccan coasts of the **Sous** region. Others moved northeastward onto the slopes of the **Middle Atlas** and the **Rif**. Still others occupied the oases around **Sijilmassa**, later turned eastward and spread over the present-day Algerian region of Constantine, where in the 10th century the Kutama tribe became a pillar of the rising of the **Fatimid** dynasty. The name of the Kutama disappeared, but their descendants, the **Kabyles**, constitute an active element in the intellectual and political life of modern Algeria. From the Algerian Sanhaja emerged the **Zirid** dynasty, which reigned from the end of the 10th century until the middle of the 12th. Of Sanhaja blood, too, was a second dynasty in northern Algeria and Tunisia, the **Hammadids**.

SANUSIYYA. Muslim religious brotherhood (*tariqa*) inspired by the militant Wahaabi teachings of a return to the simple and pure way of life of early **Islam**. The Sanusiyya was strongly represented among the Arab and Berber peoples in Cyrenaica, Libya. Its founder, Sayyid Mohammed Ibn `Ali al-Sannusi, descended from a Berber family in Algeria, studied at several religious academies in North Africa, then went to Mecca, where he established tenets of his own and gathered his first disciples. He left Mecca in 1834 with a group of adepts and settled in the southern slopes of the Jbal al-Akhdar in Cyrenaica, from where his missionaries carried his words all over the desert into the villages of the oases and among the nomadic population. In the early 1900s, the Sanusiyya order called for a jihad against foreign colonization, against the Italians, the British, and the French. In 1951, after independence from Italy, Libya became a federal monarchy with Sayyid Mohammed Idris al-Sanusi, head of the Sanusiyya brotherhood, as its first king. He was overthrown by Mu`ammar Gadhafi in 1969. *See also* KAOUCEN.

SIJILMASSA. This is the name of the medieval trans-Saharan trade entrepôt, founded near what is Rissani today in southern Morocco. This

name, though, used in scholarly and literary works, fell out of common currency and was replaced by **Tafilalet**. The **Banu Midrar** or Banu Wasul established the city of Sijilmassa in 757 as a trade entrepôt as well as a platform to proselytize Berbers and the Sudan into Islam. They are **Maknassa** who are said to have participated in the Sufrite (Kharijism) revolt of 739–740 in Tangier. Under the leadership of Abu al-Qasim Samku ben Wasul, they settled in the oasis of Tafilalet, and later they were joined by other Sufrite fugitives from the north. At the end of the eighth century, Sijilmassa became a Muslim capital city after it acquired a city wall having 12 gates and a large Friday mosque. According to historical accounts, its population was cosmopolitan, made of veiled Sanhaja Berbers, **Haratine**, Jews, and Andalusians as well as Berbers and Arabs from various parts of North African and the Middle East. In 976, Banu Midrar's control over Sijilmassa collapsed as the city was conquered by the ally of the Umayyad of Spain, Khazrun Ben Fulful, chief of the **Maghrawa** tribe.

Sijilmassa is known for its historical role in the trans-Saharan gold trade with ancient Ghana. From the 11th to the 14th centuries, trans-Saharan trade was regulated and attracted Arab, Muslim, and Jewish merchants from the east and Muslim Spain. Gold was transported north to Sijilmassa and then west to Fès, and during this period Sijilmassa had a mint that issued its first coins in 947. By the 15th century, the city had lost much of its trade traffic as its routes became vulnerable to pillaging from unallied Arab and Berber tribes. By the end of the 16th century, the region declined as trans-Saharan trade shifted to western routes using the Drâa valley–Marrakech route. In 1511, internal conflicts as well as fresh Banu Ma`qil Arab tribe invasions quickened the collapse of the city, whose inhabitants sought refuge in surrounding villages. These villages were referred to collectively as Qsabi Sijilmassa (villages of Sijilmassa) even though the original medieval town of Sijilmassa had disappeared. *See also* KHARIJISM; AL-SAMLALI; TAHART.

SIWA. In Berber, the name "Siwa" means "prey bird and protector of sun god Amon-Ra." It is derived from the name of the indigenous inhabitants, Tiswan, who speak Tassiwit, a dialect related to Berber spoken in the Sahara and North Africa. Siwa is one of the most arid oases in western Egypt near the border of Libya at a depression of 18

meters below sea level, and it is 300 kilometers southwest of the Mediterranean port city of Marsa Matruh. The oasis is 82 kilometers long and has a width ranging between 2 and 20 kilometers. The oasis was occupied since Paleolithic and Neolithic times. It was first mentioned more than 2,500 years ago in the records of the pharaohs of the Middle and New Kingdoms (2050–1800 B.C. and 1570–1090 B.C.).

In its historical development, Siwa was an important center of Egyptian culture. A temple was built there to honor the ram-headed sun god Amon-Ra, and it housed a divine oracle whose fame, by about 700 B.C., was widespread in the eastern Mediterranean. The temple of the oracle where Alexander was received can still be seen on the hill of Aghurmi, the old capital of Siwa. King Cambyses of Persia, son of Cyrus the Great and conqueror of Egypt, held a grudge against the oracle, probably because it had predicted that his conquests in Africa would soon falter—as indeed they did. In 524 B.C., Cambyses dispatched from Luxor an army of 50,000 men to destroy the Siwan oracle—a dispersion of forces that he could ill afford on his way to capture Ethiopia. The entire army vanished without a trace, buried in the seas of sand between Siwa and the inner-Egyptian oases, and no sign of it has been found even to this day.

While the Amun oasis was isolated to resist conversion to **Islam**, it did acquire a new name. The Arabs called it Santariya after the groves of acacia trees. The Santariyans fought off all attempts to bring them under central control. In the mid-19th century, the history of the oasis and its families was compiled in a scholarly document called the *Siwan Manuscript*, which was held by one family and updated until the 1960s. The manuscript was written by Abu Musallim, a *qadi*, or judge, who had been trained at the al-Azhar University in Cairo. The Siwan people are mostly Berbers, the indigenous people who once roamed the North African coast between Tunisia and Morocco. They inhabited the area as early as 10,000 B.C., first moving toward the coast but later inland as conquering powers pushed them to take refuge in the desert. Most of the information on Siwa available to us today comes from the *Siwan Manuscript*, begun more than one hundred years ago. It includes a summary of information from medieval Arab chroniclers as well as the oral traditions of Siwa itself.

The population of the oasis is about 35,000, most of whom reside in the town of Siwa. Siwans still retain their own Berber dialect, which is related to Berber as spoken in the Sahara and North Africa. Siwa's economy is based on irrigated crops, date palms and olive trees, and livestock. There are at least 250,000 palm trees and at least 30,000 olive trees in the oasis. Most other Mediterranean fruits and vegetables are also grown, as are large quantities of alfalfa for the livestock and for export. In 1986, a daily bus service began on the new road between Siwa and Marsa Matruh, and oil exploration and army encampments have led to the infusion of many outsiders. The area is also famous for its springs, of which there are approximately 1,000. The water is sweet and is said to have medicinal properties. The oasis is also a major desert **tourism** destination.

SMAYM. This term refers to the forty days between 12 July and 20 August and forms the period of *smaym*, or the great heat. It is a time of omens and fortune-telling about the weather with reference chiefly to the question of whether the agricultural year will be good or bad.

SOUS. The name Sous is derived from a river valley in southwestern Morocco around the city of **Agadir**, known as Oued Sous. The Sous region is located to the west of the Oued Drâa, north of the Sahara, and south of the Atlas Mountains and is bordered on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. Inhabitants of this region are called Susi or Swasa, and they are also known as Shleuh, or "those who speak the Berber dialect Tashalhit." The region in which Tashalhit is spoken consists of all the Anti- and **High Atlas Mountains** stretching from the Atlantic coast eastward to Demnat and Skoura as well as part of the Sahara and the deep south of Morocco.

The core tribes of the Sous are the Ammiln, Amanouz, Igouman, Tasserist, Ida ou Samlal, Ida ou Baqil, Aït Souab, Ida ou Guendif, Aït Baha, Aït Mzal, Ida ou Ktir, Ida ou Zekri, and Aït Abdellah. They are sedentary village dwellers who practiced in their resource-poor valleys **pastoral nomadism**, intensive **agriculture**, and arboriculture. Historically, Swasa specialized in religious learning and filled many positions as prayer leaders and Quranic schoolteachers (*talebs*) throughout Morocco. Since the late 1880s, Swasa have left their dry, resource-poor valleys to pursue commercial activities in major urban

centers of Morocco and Algeria (Oran), and in so doing they were projected into the heart of a growing market economy and nationwide and regional distribution system. By the end of World War II, there were major enclaves of Swasa in major Moroccan cities, and also by this time they shifted from the position of grocers to moden shop owners and managers. Today, they constitute a dynamic entrepreneurial segment of the Moroccan population, and their accumulated capitalist know-how is well illustrated in the emergence of a solid financial, commercial, and industrial Swasa elite. This elite has also been very successful in playing a key role in the major economic and political transformations that Morocco witnessed during and after French colonialism. *See also* MOZABITES.

SOUSSI AL-, MOHAMED AL-MOKHTĀR (1900–1963). A renowned thinker (*`alim*) of Islam, a Sufi, and a nationalist, al-Soussi was born in the village of Iligh in Dou-gadir, located in the Tafraout district. Al-Soussi, as his name indicates, was educated in the seminaries and Quranic schools of the Sufi lodges in the **Sous** region, then later was mentored by prominent sheikhs and scholars in mosque universities and institutes in Marrakech, Fès, and Rabat. His father was the sheikh of the renowned Sufi Zawiya Darqawiyya, and at the age of eight he memorized the Qur'an by heart. He was also influenced by Salafi religious scholars as well as secular nationalists. In 1926, he joined forces with Moroccan nationalists and was engaged in political organizing against the French Protectorate. Between 1937 and 1952, his political activism cost him several years of house arrest in his native village, and he was also exiled in **Tafilalet**. After independence in 1956, he became minister of Islamic affairs and later was nominated to the Consultative Council of the Royal Court and was appointed judge of the Royal Palaces until his death.

Al-Soussi was a prolific writer, and his works reflect his scholarly journey as well as a wide range of themes, ranging from the history and ethnography of Sous and its Sufi lodges and learning centers through Islamic law and practices to national historiography. He authored about 20 publications, some of which were published posthumously, and he left behind around 30 or more manuscripts. His well-known works include *Sous al-`alima* (1960), *Arrisalatan al-Bouna`maniyya wa al-Shawqiyya* (1960), *Al-Tiryaq al-Madaoui fi*

Akhbar Al-Sheikh al-Haj Ali Al-Soussi al-Darqaoui (1960), *Munyat al-Mutatalli`in ila min fi al-zawiyya Al-Ilighiyya mina al-Fuqara' al-Munqati`in* (1961), *Asfa al-Mawarid fi Tahdhibi al-rihla al-Hijaziyya li-Sheikh al-Walid* (1961), *Min Afwahi al-Rijal* (10 vols., 1962), *al-Ma`sul* (20 vols., 1963), *khilala Jazoula* (4 vols., 1963), *Al-Ilighiyat* (3 vols., 1963), *`Ala Qimmati al-Arba`in* (1963), *Bayna al-Jumud wa al-Juhud, Iligh Qadiman wa Hadithan* (1966), *Mu`taqal al-Sahara* (1982), *Hawla Ma`idati al-Ghada`* (1983), *Taqatu Rihan min Rawdat al-Afnan* (1984), *Madaris Sous al-`Atiqa: nidhamuha wa Asatidhatuha* (1987), *Rijalat al-`ilm al-`Arabi fi Souss* (1989), and *al-Majmu`a al-Fiqhiyya fi al-Fatawi al-Soussiyya* (1995). He died in an accident in 1963 and was buried in the Martyrs Cemetery in Rabat.

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TADDA. This term refers to the institution of alliance formation between segments of the same tribe or two different tribes. It implies mutual aid and trust and guaranteed safe passage and hospitality among the participants. The term *tadda* is derived from the verb *tadd*, which means to nurse in **Tamazight**, and it involves a ceremony of colactation. The participants exchanged milk that was obtained from nursing mothers of the respective groups involved. Its major function is the control of theft and adultery, violations of which are believed to be punished through supernatural forces (*tunant*).

TAFILALET. Tafilalet designates the geographical and cultural area of southeastern Morocco until independence. After that, the area was named Ksar Es-Souk Province, which changed later into the present Errachidia Province. Its history was tied to the fortunes and misfortunes of the medieval city-state of **Sijilmassa**, whose economy was based on trans-Saharan caravan trade. Today, Tafilalet is limited to the urban center of Rissani and its surrounding villages and palm grove.

Medieval Arab geographers describe the oasis as an area of fertile lands, plentiful dates, lush greenery, and a sophisticated level of urbanization and architecture emulating and rivaling those of Moorish Spain and China. Sijilmassa's trans-Saharan caravan trade between

the eighth and ninth centuries made the oasis the favorite trade destination of Moorish and **Jewish** groups attracted by speculation and high profits generated by an unequal trade exchange with Sudan: slaves and gold exchanged for salt, wool, cloth, arms, and gunpowder.

At the beginning of the 17th century and as Europeans powers diverted much of the trans-Saharan trade to the coastal areas, Tafilalet became a focal site for control, as the early founders of the ruling Alawite dynasty were caught in competition with the Illigh and **Dila** religious brotherhoods over the control of the Moroccan terminus of the Tafilalet trade routes. These events eventually led to the rise of the Alawite dynasty. In 1606, Sultan Moulay Zidan took refuge in Tafilalet and, using gold he acquired there, raised an army and managed to conquer Marrakech. In 1910, Abu Mahalli raised an army in Tafilalet and managed to take over Marrakech in 1912. However, Sidi Yahya, saint of the Taroudant in the **Sous** region, chased Abu Mahalla, killed him, and liberated the city for the sultan. By 1622, Tafilalet was still insubordinate and had to be put under control by the Moulay Zidan in a repressive campaign that lasted four months. By 1630, trans-Saharan trade was becoming more profitable, and the Shorfa Arabs began to unite under the leadership of Moulay Ali Al Sharif. At the start, they were challenged by the Dila religious brotherhoods and Aït Atta but called on the assistance of **al-Samlali** of the Illigh ***zawiya***. The Illigh *zawiya* responded with an army but instead decided to conquer the region rather than bring aid to the emerging Alawite dynasty. By 1640, the Illigh forces were driven out of the region.

In 1669, the Alawites were finally able to capture Marrakech. Tafilalet's theater of action among the Alawites—the declining Sa`diyin dynasty, the Illigh, and the Dila—reflects its economic significance in the 17th century. With the success of the Alawites, Tafilalet eclipsed the Drâa as the region from which the ruling dynasty originated. In later centuries, trans-Saharan trade became less important as the Alawite dynasty put in a place a taxation system. With the occupation of Algeria by France in the nineteenth century, Tafilalet and the Algerian-Moroccan frontier became exposed to French military encroachment. By the end of 19th century, almost all the city oases southeast of Tafilalet came under French control. In 1932, the French,

after several battles with the Aït Atta, conquered Tafilalet and its surroundings.

Tafilalet is the largest single oasis in Morocco, given life by the Ziz and Ghris rivers that converge on it. The oasis covers an area of about 375 square kilometers, and it has a population of about 90,000. It is inhabited by Aït Atta, holy and common Arabs, and the **Haratine**. Its mixed economy is based on **pastoral nomadism** and on irrigated cultivation of date palms with a variety of crops, such as cereals, fruit trees, and vegetables. In recent decades, **emigration** plus **tourism** and the development of modern irrigated **agriculture** have significantly altered the social and ecological landscape of the region. The Haratine population, who for centuries composed a landless group, have began to purchase land and even be elected to public office, and the Arab and Berber notability has been slowly losing its traditional economic, social, and political domination.

TAGUELMOUST. The *taguelmoust*, or *alechcho*, is the traditional veil worn by the **Tuareg**. It is a piece of Sudanese indigo-dyed cloth, 1.50 to 4 meters long and 0.25 to 0.50 meters wide, wrapped around the head and across the face. It is a dominant symbol of Tuareg identity as expressed in their self-designation as Kel Taguelmoust, meaning literally "the people of the veil." It is worn by all adult men in Tuareg society, and all men wear it from puberty for the remainder of their lives, and the adolescent boy's first wearing of the veil marks the passage of the boy into manhood. For the remainder of his life, he will rarely be unveiled either when traveling alone or even when sleeping. **Women**, however, do not put on the veil but rather a head cloth, which is also taken in puberty.

TAHART. The city-state of Tahart was founded by `Abd al-Rahman Ibn Rustum, an imam of the Ibadithe sect and one of the most moderate branches of the heterodox **Kharijite** doctrine. From 776 to 908, the Rustumid reigned over Tahart. Welcomed by the Ibadithe communities of western Algeria, mainly Berbers of the **Zanata** group, Ibn Rustum rebuilt the old settlement of Tahart (near present-day Tiaret), about 225 kilometers southwest of Algiers. For over 130 years, Tahart remained the religious and intellectual focus of Kharijism in the western regions of North Africa. Tahart meant more than

the spiritual leadership of a sect and of theological speculation. Tahart was also a market with a regional significance. Located in the midst of a fertile agricultural zone at the crossroads of several caravan roads, it developed a flourishing trade in the hands of a mixed population: Berbers from all over North Africa between **Tripolitania** and the Atlantic coast of Morocco, Arabs from every part of the east, Sunni as well as followers of various Shiite shades, and also some Christians who refused conversion to Islam.

The city was destroyed under the assault of the Kutama mountain tribes led by Abu `Abd Allah al-Shi`i, the founder of the **Fatimid** dynasty. Consequently, a number of the inhabitants emigrated and joined the Ibadithe settlement in Sadrata near Ouargala, trying to bring Tahart back to new life there, but Sadrata, too, was conquered by the **Hammadids** toward the end of the 11th century. After many failed attempts, most of the people sought refuge in the desolate, stony highland of Shabka, where the Ibadithe community has survived in the Oued Mzab down to this day, known as **Mozabites**.

TAMANRASSET. A city of about 60,000 people and the capital of the Tamanrasset *wilaya* or *département* in southern Algeria. The region consists of Tamanrasset, In Salah, and In Qazzam. The entire population of the *wilaya* is estimated at 152,000. Before the arrival of the French, Tamanrasset was a caravan trade stop on the way to the Sudan and today is a major desert **tourism** hub. The city is located in the environs of the Ahaggar Mountains. The landscape is diverse, as the entire area starts at 1,400 meters above sea level, with the highest peaks of the Ahaggar range—all 240,000 square kilometers of it—reaching around 3,000 meters. Tamanrasset is not a typical Saharan date palm oasis with sufficient water, and its groundwater is so limited that households' water needs and agricultural irrigation practices are severely rationed.

The oldest adobe fort in town was built by Charles de Foucauld, a French religious hermit who settled in 1905 to live among the Tuareg. Because of its poverty and isolation, Foucauld thought it the perfect location for the monastery he intended to found. Recognizing his unsuccessful efforts to convert the Tuareg to Christianity, he began to study their language, Tamasheq, and their writing, **Tifinagh**. From his work came the first French-Tamasheq dictionary, which is

still considered the best reference in Berber linguistics. In 1910, he constructed a hermitage (*barj*) on the peak of Assekrem, one of the highest in the Ahaggar Mountains. But not all the Tuareg welcomed his stay. On the night of 1 December 1916, Tuareg rebels assassinated him. After the submission of the Kel Ahaggar in the early 1900s, Tamanrasset became a French military post in 1920.

TAMANRASSET ACCORDS. An agreement signed on 6 January 1991, in Tamanrasset, Algeria, between the **Tuareg** and the Malian government to address some of the pressing grievances that provoked the Tuareg insurgency. Among the provisions are the following: a cease-fire and exchange of prisoners; withdrawal of insurgent forces to cantonments; reduction of the army presence in the north, especially Kidal; disengagement of the army from civil administration in the north; elimination of selected military posts (considered threatening by the Tuareg communities); integration of insurgent combatants into the Malian army at ranks to be determined; acceleration of the ongoing processes of administrative decentralization in Mali; guarantee that a fixed percentage of Mali's national infrastructural budget would be devoted to the north (Regions 6, 7, and 8); repatriation of refugees, both those displaced within Mali itself and the thousands of Tuareg who had fled to neighboring countries, especially Algeria and Mauritania; and assurances to the Tuareg that their culture and sensitivities would be respected and that they would be valued as citizens of Mali. *See also* TUAREG REBELLIONS.

TAMAZGHA. *See* LANGUAGES.

TAMAZIGHT. *See* LANGUAGES.

TAMAZLAYT. Tuareg word meaning "to set aside a share or special portion." It refers to the tribute given to the Ihaggaren nobility (camel breeders) by the Kel Ulli (goat breeders) for their protection. It is the primary means by which the Ihaggaren gained control over access to goat products to meet their subsistence needs. This institution was the means whereby the diverse economic activities of the two groups were integrated within a **pastoral-nomadism** and raiding economy.

TAMEKCHIT. Tuareg institution. While **Tamazlayt** tribute provided the Ihaggaren nobility with goat-breeding products, the institution of *tamekchit* allowed the nobility to claim food from the Kel Ulli and allowed them to obtain anything they needed for their subsistence requirements. Ihaggaren would consequently camp close to their Kel Ulli, who were obliged to provision and feed them. The Kel Ulli, however, received certain compensations, not the least of which was the assurance of protection. Additionally, the Kel Ulli could borrow the Ihaggaren's camels for their own caravan or raiding expeditions, from which they gave a share (also known as *aballag*) consisting of half the booty remaining after the *amenukal* had received his share.

TAOS-AMROUCHE, MARGUERITE (MARIE-LOUISE) (1913–1976). She was born in Tunis on 4 March 1913 and died in Saint Michel-L'observatoire in France on 2 April 1976. She received her elementary and secondary education in Tunis. She was a francophone writer as well as a musician. She was the sister of the well-known author **Jean Amrouche**. Her parents were born in Ighil Ali in Lesser Kabylia and converted to Christianity. Her artistic expressions, both written and sung, speak of themes of exile and identity, underscoring her feelings of separation, loss, and a relentless effort to find peace with herself and to connect with others. She was the first Algerian woman to publish a novel in 1947.

Writing under the nom de plume of Marguerite-Taos Amrouche, she was the author of three autobiographical novels: *Jacinthe noire*, which appeared in 1947 and was reedited in 1972; *La rue des tambourins*, published in 1969; and *L'amant imaginaire*, which appeared in 1975. A fourth posthumous novel, *Solitude ma mère*, was published in 1995. Her masterpiece, *le grain magique*, appeared in 1966 and is a compilation of Kabyle stories and poems collected from her mother, Fadhma At Mansur Amrouche (1882–1967), the author of a posthumous and moving narrative, *Histoire de ma vie*, published in 1967. Her recordings include *Chants berbères de Kabylie* (1967), *Chants de processions, méditations, et danses sacrées berbères* (1967), *Chants de l'Atlas* (1971), *Chants espagnols archaïques de la Alberca* (1972), *Incantations, méditations et danses berbères sacrées* (1974), and *Chants berbères de la meule et du berceau* (1975).

TAOUDENI. The Saharan salt mines of Mali located 700 kilometers to the north of **Timbuktu**. These mines were discovered in the 16th century after the Moroccans closed the Taghaza mines. The Tuareg were in charge of this trade from the earliest times and controlled Taghaza until the mines' abandonment in 1596. Traditionally, salt was transported down to Timbuktu on two large annual caravans called **Azalay**. At one time, there were as many as 4,000 camels in a caravan. The salt trade between Taoudeni and Timbuktu once constituted an important element in the commercial life of the Saharan economy. However, the salt trade has declined greatly in importance. *See also* KIDAL.

TARIQ IBN ZIYAD. *See* AL-ANDALUS.

TASSILI N'AJJER. This name refers to the prehistoric site of thousands of rock art documenting the archaeological record of North African prehistoric peoples and cultures. In the highlands of Tassili, Tibesti, the Ahggar, **Kabylia**, and the Saharan **Atlas** and along the Atlantic coast are found several elaborate rock art and paintings. These "frescoes" indicate how the Saharan environment supported a Neolithic economy and society. The dates of rock art and engraving range from 6000 B.C. to A.D. 100. At the beginning of the Neolithic period, the climate was much wetter than in historic times. A Neolithic civilization emerged and combined fishing and cattle herding with connections to Sudan and then to the **Capsian** to the north. Frescoes show black people. At the end of the second millennium, paintings begin to depict white people with long hair and elongated beards. By the middle of the second millennium, the paintings show men using horses to pull war chariots, armed with spears, and wearing kilts similar to those of the Egyptians. Other frescos show shaman-like figures indicating a priestly discourse, probably used to maintain the social organization of society.

With the domestication of the horse, the Mediterranean groups in North Africa were capable of greater mobility than they had had before. They were able to exploit the now arid zones of the Sahara for **pastoral nomadism**. Both the horse and their stratified society allowed them to subjugate the existing black population, whose development since around 2500 B.C. was slowly arrested by the drying out of the Sahara.

Evidence from the Tassili paintings tells of a striking resemblance to the Egyptian tombs of the 13th century B.C., which show "Libyan," "Libu," or "Mashwash" sporting kilts and ostrich feather headdresses, their hair in locks, their beards short and pointed, and their faces covered with tattoos or ritual marks. These are said to be the northern equivalent to the **Tuareg** groups in Tassili. They apparently had trade connections with the Egyptians. In 1220 B.C. and again in 1180 B.C., they invaded the Egyptians, and figures of 9,300 and 28,000 Libyans are recorded as having been killed in these two assaults. It is with these events that the Saharan Berbers, especially the Garamantes of the Fezzan, first came to be noticed by the ancient world historiography. The Garamantes are the protohistoric peoples of North Africa, and the valleys of the Fezzan are rich prehistoric settlement sites. Archaeological evidence from the Fezzan excavations shows that both wheat and barley were cultivated. Sheep were also raised as livestock. Garamante villages were composed of black and Mediterranean peoples. Prehistoric art of the central Sahara was investigated and documented by Henri Lhote and others in the 1950s, with the considerable assistance of Machar Djebrine Ag Mohammed (1890/1892–1981), a Tuareg explorer and guide who discovered numerous rock art sites in Tassili n'Ajjer, Tamrit, Djanet, Sefa, Tessoukay, Jebbaren, and the plateau of Tadjihanine.

TAYMAT. The term refers to a traditional and voluntary pact of friendship between individuals, tribal segments, or tribes. It also implies such mutual assistance and economic cooperation as aiding in harvest and breeding sheep and the exchange of hospitality and women in marriage. The ceremony involves the sharing of food but no sacrifice, although on completion of the ceremony the first chapter of the Qur'an is recited to seal and lend the pact a sacred character.

TAZTTAT. This term refers to a traditional pact of protection between tribes or two individuals, one of whom is a stranger to the tribe. For a sum of money (toll fee), tribesmen agreed to escort and to secure the safe passage of strangers, travelers, and itinerant merchants through the territory of the clan. Many tribes who lived along major trade routes, such the Aït Atta and Aït Youssi, derived a substantial income from this practice (*amur n'tazttat*).

TCHIN TABARADEN MASSACRE. Among the **Tuareg**, this term literally means "the valley of young girls." It is an *arrondissement* in the Tahoua *département* and rangeland of the Kel Dennek nomads. Since the 1980s, the Niger armed forces had been the focus of Tuareg assaults in Tchin Tabaraden. In 1991, the village was attacked by the government forces, and afterward the Niger military forces led mass reprisals on the Tuareg civilian population of the area, brutalizing and humiliating it. The extent of the massacre is unknown: figures range from 63 according to the government through 600 to 700 estimated by humanitarian organizations to 1,500 advanced by the Tuareg. This event ushered in the **Tuareg Rebellion** in Niger, which lasted until 1995.

TEGAMA AGH BAKHARI, ABDERAHMAN (1880–1920). Sultan of **Agadez** during the **Kaoucen Revolt**. He supported the incipient rebellion of **Aïr** for warding off French colonial penetration into the region. After the collapse of the revolt in 1916, Tegama fled to Kaoura but was turned in to the French by a Toubou in 1919. He was imprisoned in Zinder and was murdered in his cell in April 1920. The official cause of death, however, was explained away by the French as suicide.

TEGUIDDA-N-TAGAIT. An important archaeological site and **Tuareg** village about 85 kilometers from **Agadez**. It is a Neolithic site and may be the most significant site in the Sahara. The site contains about 250 examples of prehistoric rock art. It was also a major base for the Songhay sovereign Askia Mohammed during his attack on the **Sultanate of Agadez** between 1500 and 1515.

TEGUIDDA-N-TESEMT. A village located in the **Tuareg** oasis of **In Gall**, **Aïr**, where the Ingalkoyyu or Issawaghan cultivate date palms and practice subsistence irrigated **agriculture**. It is a historical caravan stop on the western route to **Gao**. It is about 20 kilometers from the archaeological site of Azelik, a major village that competed for dominance with Agadez in the 15th century. Teguidda is about 80 kilometers to the north of In Gall, and its prominence is due to the availability of salt pans, springs, and seasonal festivals. The evaporated salt is used by herders to keep their livestock healthy, and cash

from salt and decorated mats of palm leaves is used to buy millet and other necessities. The village plays host to the nomads of the region for the annual **Akasa**, or *cure salée*, in early September when the herds are driven to the area around In Gall to use the salty water and grass found there.

TIFINAGH. This term refers to the Berber alphabet, and it is related to the ancient Libyan alphabet, which dates back to the fourth century B.C. Archaeological evidence from **Tassili n'Ajjer** in the Ahaggar and from Thugga in Tunisia (today Dougga) shows a simplified Semitic alphabet composed of symmetrical and orthogonal inscriptions. Similar to Punic, vowels are not transcribed, and for the most part it is constituted of an epigraphic alphabet. Ancient administrative texts tend to be written from right to left, while funerary inscriptions were inscribed in columns and read from either the top or the bottom. Its use was widespread, stretching from the Fezzan, or southwestern modern Libya, to the **Canary Islands**. A variant of Tifinagh survives today among the **Tuareg**, and its rehabilitation and revitalization are being undertaken by the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh (IRCAM) in Morocco, **Kabyles**, **Chaouia**, and other diaspora communities.

The adoption of the ancient script of Tifinagh to revive Berber culture language and culture has become a contested issue among Berbers as well as policymakers in North Africa. While the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh, a government-certified institution, is reviving Berber language, or **Tamazight**, in Tifinagh, the **Kabyle** and others in the diaspora have elected to apply a Latin script to Tifinagh. Kabyles and others argue that the Roman script lends itself very nicely to modern means of communication of all that is Berber beyond the borders of the Berber homeland. Another interesting aspect of this linguistic debate is the fact that writing in Berber is still not politically correct in North Africa. There are many bases for this fact. First, there is the deliberate attempt to anchor nation building in the discourse of Islam through its sacred language, Arabic. Second, the Berber Dahir and the efforts of the French to isolate Berber culture and practices in Algeria and Morocco were rejected by the nationalist movements. Finally, while cultural and political leftist formations have privileged the notion of class as a unit of social analysis, they have always displayed unconstructive and Arab-centric attitudes and

sentiments, if not downright racism, toward all things considered Berber. *See also* ARABIZATION; LITERATURE.

TIJANIYA. Popular Muslim religious order in Niger and Senegal. It almost replaced the Qadiriya, previously dominant in the region. It was founded by Ahmed al-Tijani in `in Madi, in the region of Laghouat in Algeria in 1782. Because of Turkish military efforts to subjugate the region, Ahmed al-Tijani left `in Madi and settled in Fès in 1788. Although he followed various *tariqa* (Darqawiyya, Nasiriyya, and Wazzaniyya) and because he was not a sharif, he claimed inspiration from the Prophet and so did not subscribe to the prevalent Jazuliyya/Shadliyyah traditions in Morocco. In the following centuries, the Tijaniya spread its influence into sub-Saharan Africa. In the context of colonial resistance, the order managed to support the French colonial schemes in the region. The order has three main ***zawiyas***—`in Madi, Fez, and Tamasin—with its leader in `In Madi holding the title of *khalifa*.

TIMBUKTU. A city of 32,000 located in northern Mali. The city is the *chef-lieu* of a *cercle* and region of the same name. The total area of the region is 496,611 square kilometers, and it has a population of 495,132. It was founded in the 11th century as a seasonal camp for **Tuareg** nomads. During the rainy season, the Tuaregs roam the desert up to **Ariwan** in search of grazing lands for their animals. During the dry season, however, they return to the Niger River, where herds grazed on a grass called "*burgu*." According to legend, on the onset of the rainy season, the Tuareg will leave their goods with an old Tuareg women named Tin Abutut who stayed at the well. In the Tuareg language, *tin abutut* means "the lady with the big navel." With the passage of time, the name Tin Abutut became Timbuktu. Another legend tells that the place was entrusted to a Tuareg woman called Buctoo. The name "Timbuktu" comes from the Tuareg term *tim*, meaning "that belong to," and the name "Buctoo."

From the 11th century on, Timbuktu became a trans-Saharan caravan entrepôt where goods from West Africa and North Africa were traded. Goods coming from the Mediterranean shores and salt were traded in Timbuktu for gold. The prosperity of the city attracted scholars, merchants, and traders from North Africa. Salt, books, and

gold were very much in demand at that time. Salt came from the Taghaza mines in the north, gold came from the immense gold mines of the Boure and Banbuk, and books were products of native scholars and scholars of the Berber Sanhaja. The Tuareg captured the salt mine of Taghaza and thus took control of the salt trade. The Tuareg exported the salt to Timbuktu via camel caravans. In 1893, with the colonization of West Africa by France, Timbuktu was brought under French rule until Mali received its independence in 1960.

Today, most of the population consists of Songhay agriculturalists and Tuareg nomads. The **Taoudeni** salt mines are located in the north of the region, where salt is still mined. Although salt from Taoudeni still comes through Timbuktu on camels (as it has for centuries), the town is no longer a major trading center and has not experienced much development in recent times. Timbuktu is still a modest center of Islamic learning and houses one of the oldest medieval Islamic libraries.

TIMIDRIA. The term means "fraternity," and it refers to the largest black Tuareg organization, founded in 1991 to defend the rights of slaves. With a membership of 300,000, it has multiple centers and projects sponsored by foreign donors throughout Niger. It seeks peaceful coexistence between pastoralists and farmers. On 3 November 2004, Timidria received the 2004 Anti-Slavery Award from Anti-Slavery International for fighting slavery and bonded labor in Niger.

TIN HINAN. Ancestress of certain Kel Ahaggar groups. As mythmaking melts into oral histories to validate the stratified social organization of the **Tuareg**, there are many versions competing along a fragmentary and speculative spectrum when it comes to the reconstruction of the origins of the Tuareg. The origins story centers on the legendary queen Tin Hinan and her companion Takama. Tin Hinan is believed to have been a noblewoman of the Baraber tribe (the Aït Khabbash) and is alleged to have traveled in the company of her slave girl, Takama, from **Tafilalet** in Morocco to Ahaggar, where they are buried. Tin Hinan is thought to be buried on the bank of the Tiffert River near Abalessa and Takama in a smaller tomb nearby. Tin Hinan's tomb was excavated, and archaeological evidence dates it back to the fourth century A.D., three centuries before the arrival of

Islam to North Africa. It is claimed that Tin Hinan and her slave girl, Takama, arrived in Ahaggar and found it uninhabited except for a pagan population called Isbeten, who were goat breeders and hunters living in caves in the mountainous areas of the country.

A variation of this story is that Tin Hinan had a daughter, Kella, from whom the noble Kel Rala and Taytok groups claim descent, while Takama had two daughters from whom the vassal groups of the Dag Rali, Kel Ahnet, and Aït Lowayan are alleged to descend. Another variation says that Tin Hinan had three daughters who bore the names of animals: Tinhert (antelope), the ancestress of the Inemba group; Tahenkot (gazelle), the ancestress of the Kel Rala; and Tamerouault (doe-rabbit), the ancestress of the Iboglan. Although there is some question about which Kel Ahaggar groups are descended from Tin Hinan, the noble matrilineal Kel Rala and Taytok groups claim undisputed descent from Tin Hinan.

A further Ahaggar variation reported by Johannes Nicolaisen claims that all Tuareg have a common ancestor, as they descended from a woman called Lemtuna, who is believed to be the ancestor of certain Berber groups in Ghadames in Libya. Most Moroccan Berbers trace their origins to Lemtuna's sister, who was the ancestress of the Baraber. Most Tuareg scholars argue that the noble/master–slave/client narrative justifies the annual tributes of the vassals to the nobles.

TIT, BATTLE OF (1902). This refers to the Kel Ahaggar attack on the French expedition, led by Lieutenant Cottenest, with one hundred voluntarily enlisted *meharistes*. The expedition left In Salah on 23 March 1902 to make a reconnaissance of Ahaggar and inflict a punitive raid on the Kel Ahaggar. No doubt, Tuareg collective memory celebrated with ease how they had destroyed **Flatters expedition** of 92 men, and they decided to assault the French at the village of Tit, about 40 kilometers north of Tamanrasset. The Kel Ahaggar, consisting mainly of Kel Rela, with many of their Kel Ulli and the Dag Rali, launched a furious assault on the French patrol under the leadership of Moussa Ag Amastane, but the successive attacks faded before the deadly and accurate French weaponry. Over 100 Kel Ahaggar were left dead, while Lieutenant Cottenest suffered 3 dead and 10 wounded.

The defeat stunned the Kel Ahaggar, and Tuareg notions of invincibility and territorial sovereignty had been shattered. Their submission to France can be dated as beginning from that day. After many instances of Tuareg dissensions and attacks on the French, in 1904, Moussa Ag Amastane rode to In Salah to negotiate peace. In return, the French authorities invested Moussa with the title of amenukal. The submission of the Kel Ahaggar finally enabled France to link up with its Sudanese territories, and on 18 April 1904, it established the frontier between Algeria and French West Africa, passing through Timaiouine, about 565 kilometers to the west-southwest of Tamanrasset. The border deprived the Kel Ahaggar of one of their most valuable pasturelands, the Adrar n'Iforas, as well as a number of allied tribes. Ahaggar's inclusion in the French colonial administration was not without loss to the Tuareg.

TIZI OUZOU. A city located in eastern Algeria with a population of 77,475. It is the capital of the province of the same name, *département*/*wilaya* Tizi Ouzou. Its Berber name means "the prickly furze pass." Tizi Ouzou is the symbolic capital of Kabyle resistance and the historical center of Berberism in North Africa. **Kabyles** have always been more politically active and hostile to the Arabic-speaking central government policies of Berber exclusion, humiliation, and neglect (*hogra*) than the rest of their countrymen. Since the late 1940s, they have been campaigning for the official status of the Berber **language** and culture in Algerian politics.

Over the past five years, Tizi Ouzou has gained international attention, as it has become the center of Berber activism and unrest. In April 2001, also called Black Spring, Tizi Ouzou erupted after an eighteen-year-old man named Massinissa Guermah died in the custody of the gendarmes (paramilitary rural police). Within days, Guermah's death led to protests throughout the entire Kabyle area, over seven *wilayas* (*départements*), expressing the hatred of *hogra* and the rejection of poverty, denouncing the murderous regime, and calling for the removal of the gendarmes forces from Kabylia. Although the revolt began peacefully enough, it degenerated into rioting and looting. The gendarmes fought back with live ammunition, killing nearly one hundred unarmed Kabyles in a period of 60 days. On 14 June 2001, in one of the largest demonstrations the country has ever seen,

hundreds of thousands of Kabyles poured into Algiers. armed clashes broke out, and four protestors were killed.

The demand for the recognition of the **Tamazight** (Berber) language is always present. However, contrary to the strongly identity-based protests of June 1998, at the time of the death of (leading Berber singer) Lounes Matoub, the youth in revolt attacked all the public buildings, all the symbols of the state, and all the dignitaries suspected of corruption. They also attacked the symbols of the Berber-dominated political parties, the **Front des Forces Socialistes** (FFS) and the **Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie** (RCD), as well as those of the establishment Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) condemning their appalling municipal management, their membership of the liberal consensus, and their bourgeois political practices. Cities like Tizi Ouzou and Bijaia continue to be the scenes of sporadic protests not only against poverty and *hogra* but also against Arab nationalism, the state's official ideology. *See also* BERBER SPRING.

TLEMCEN. A city located in northwestern Algeria with a population of 155,162. It is the capital of a province of the same name. The name of the city is derived from a Berber word, *tilmisane*, for "springs." The province is known for its **agriculture** of olives and vineyards. Because of its rich historical record, the city combines a cosmopolitan blend of Berber, Arab, and French cultures. Over the centuries, it has developed leather and textile industries geared toward export. The city is also known for the tomb of the marabout, or mystic, Sidi Bou Médiènne (1126–1197) and the second president of Algeria, Houari Boumédiènne (1932–1978).

The city has been occupied since prehistoric times, maybe because of its location as a watering hole. It was founded by the Romans in the fourth century as a military outpost in the Berber hinterlands. In the eighth century, Idris I of Fès built a mosque at the site. At the end of the 12th century, the Almoravids established and expanded the city of Tlemcen. Under the Almoravids, it served as a major theological and legal training center. It has several important mosques, such as the "Great Mosque." As the capital of the **`Abd al-Wadids** in the 13th and 14th centuries, Tlemcen became an important religious center as well as a commercial hub for the region. It also

prospered under the **Marinids**, who built a shrine for Sidi Bou Médiènne, surrounded by a beautiful mosque, a *madrasa*, and other buildings for the use of pilgrims. The shrine has remained a much-visited sacred place down to this day. Because of its commercial and religious significance, the city became an object of aggression between the Turks and Spaniards at the beginning of the 16th century. During the Turkish occupation, the city fell into decline. From 1830 to 1833, it came under the control of the `Alawite dynasty. In 1842, the French conquered it, and it became a *commune de plein exercise*. In 1858, it became an *arrondissement* capital.

In 1956, the city was besieged by a section of the Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN) forces, and after the administrative reforms of 1958, it became the capital of a *département* of the same name. The name of the city was given in 1962 to the "Tlemcen group," or the Ahmed Ben Bella and Houari Boumédiènne faction, which opposed the Governement Provisoire de la République Algérienne (GPRA).

TOURISM. This is a major aspect of the economies of Berber land, and in some countries and regions, such as the **Canary Islands**, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Tunisia, and **Siwa**, it accounts for a considerable share of commercial activities. Berber land's Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Saharan climate; its mountains and spectacular desert vistas, lush oases, and stunning geological formations, with traditional and colonial architecture of villages and cities; and its long and varied history and cultures, much of which is preserved in historical and archaeological sites and parks, have combined to make Berber land one of the most attractive tourist destinations.

The tourism industry dates back to the colonial and postcolonial periods, when state-driven initiatives opened resort establishments along the coastal areas, in historic towns and cities, and in the Sahara. In 1922, André Citroën, the engineer and founder of Citroën motor company, planned and organized what the French called a "raid" across the Sahara. The practical objectives of this business and engineering venture were to test his newly designed "caterpillar" cars, which were an adaptation of the British tank, and to link Tunis with **Timbuktu**. The Citroën expedition is one of the most important events in the modern history of the Sahara, for its effect on the life of the desert was to be greater than any previous European penetration.

For that matter, even the animals were affected, and their chances of survival were endangered. It is fair to observe from what goes on in the Sahara today that, thanks to the automobile revolution, camels have become almost obsolete and gazelles, antelopes, desert hares, and moufllon have been brought to the brink of extinction. After the successful crossing of the Sahara by his automobiles, André Citroën was determined to make the desert a real holiday resort, shrewdly calculating that nothing pacifies a country as quickly as tourism. He also drew a grandiose scheme for building hotels across the Sahara, equipped with modern amenities, including bathrooms, running water, radios, and air-conditioned bars. The Citroën project, in many interesting ways, foreshadowed the development of "*le grand tourisme saharien*." This project is the precursor to the annual Paris-to-Dakar rally.

Since independence, especially in the non–oil producing countries, tourism has been a major source of hard currency and employment, directly and indirectly providing jobs to a significant segment of the working population. There are, however, serious problems facing the industry. With the exception of small scale ecotourism establishments, much of the industry is in the hands of foreign investors and tour operators. Moreover, the concentration of tourism in certain areas has intensified socioeconomic disparities between resort and nonresort areas, and it has in some places put tremendous stress on fragile resources, particularly in seaside resorts and desert oases, where tourists have altered old ways of interacting with the carrying capacity of the environment.

Another negative aspect of reliance on tourism is that it is a highly volatile and sensitive sector to internal as well external economic and political influences. Forces in the form of global recessions, insecurity threats, and political unrest lead most often to recurrent and unsustainable economic trends in the industry. For example, in February-March 2003, the perceived image of Tuareg lands becoming a haven for terrorists was intensified by the kidnapping of 32 European tourists in southern Algeria. They were released in August of the same year. The abduction, blamed on one of the Algerian radical Islamist movements, received global media coverage. This event had two immediate consequences on Tuareg tourism. First, it devastated tourism in the central Sahara, and hence the Tuareg were robbed of

one of their main sources of income. Second, it proved that the region was insecure, and thus tourists stayed away and livelihoods were compromised. *See also* AGADEZ; AGADIR; AÏR; JERBA; KIDAL; NUMIDIA; SIWA, TASSILI N'AJJER; TIMBUKTU.

TRIPOLITANIA. It is located in the northwestern part of Libya, and it is one of the most populous and historic regions with about 80 percent of the country's population living here. It covers an area of about 365,000 square kilometers and runs from the Mediterranean Sea to the Saharan frontiers of Libya. The history of the area was dominated by its Saharan caravan trade and its port, which provided refuge to pirates and slave traders. Since ancient times, Cyrenaica has been drawn east toward Egypt, the Fezzan toward Chad and Sudan, and Tripolitania west toward Tunisia and the Maghreb.

It is in Tripolitania that the first manifestations of nationalism came for the unification of Libya as well as the development of a political consciousness against foreign occupation. Despite the lack of support by the major colonial powers of the time, in 1918, the Republic of Tripoli was organized, and it was the first form of republican governance in the Arab world. After World War II, numerous political movements emerged in Libya, particularly in Tripolitania. Eventually, in 1950, the elites of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and the Fezzan settled on forming a united, federal Libya under the leadership of King Sayyid Mohammed Idris al-Sanusi.

Today, the region surrounding Tripoli as far south as Jabal Nafusa constitutes the bread basket of the country, with farming dedicated largely to the cultivation of cereals, date palm, and olive groves as well as the use of the Jafara plain and its hills for **pastoral nomadism**. Jabal Nafusa is in the western part of al-Jabal al-Gharbi, or Trablusi, and it is home to various Ibadithe Berber communities known for their troglodyte housing architecture. These include Kabaw, Jadu, Yefren, and Kirkla. The social groups include At-fassato (also known as Infusan and people of Tanmmirt); I`azzaben (Ibadithe religious scholars); Irquiqin (term denoting all Berbers); Ishamjan (blacks or former slaves); Araben, or Eyyeshan (Arabs); and Ehadaden (blacksmiths). Most Berbers in Libya live in Jabal Nafusa, Zwara, and Ghaddamis. *See also* KHARIJISM; SANUSIYYA.

TUAREG. They are commonly known as a Berber-speaking **pastoralist** and matrilineal society of the Sahara. They are also known in travel literature as the "veiled blue men of the Sahara." However, during the last four decades, the number of pastoralists has drastically declined, and those who still practice pastoralism can hardly be called pastoralists in the strict sense of the word. Because of recurrent and devastating droughts, in association with postcolonial policies of governments in the region, Tuareg have been forced to adapt to new rural and urban livelihood-making strategies. Over the past four decades, they have also undergone radical social and political change.

The Tuareg are found in a large area between 14 and 30 degrees north and 5 degrees west and 10 degrees east, centered in southern Algeria, Niger, Mali, Burkina Fasso, southwestern Libya, and a few other peripheral areas. The Kel Ahaggar and Kel Ajjer are called the Northern Tuareg, while the remaining groups constitute the Southern Tuareg. Reliable figures on the precise population distribution of the Tuareg are not available. However, the entire Tuareg population is estimated at over 3.5 million: 800,000 in Niger; 600,000 in Mali; 140,000 in Algeria, including **refugees** from Mali and Niger; 30,000 to 40,000 in Burkina Faso; and 20,000 to 30,000 in Libya; the reminder are in El Fasher, Darfur, Sudan, and in Kano, Katsina, northern Nigeria, and overseas.

The meaning of the word "Tuareg" produces considerable confusion, particularly as the Tuareg do not in fact name themselves by this term. The word is an external labeling and not an indigenous system of classification. The word "Tuareg" has Arabic roots (*Tarqi*; pl. *tawariq*), meaning those who are abandoned by Allah (God), because for a long time the Tuareg refused to accept the religion of the Arabs: Islam. They refer to themselves as *Imuhag* (raiders-nobles), and the term *Imuhag* is used to designate anyone whose **language** is Tamahak, precluding Izeggaghen and other vassals whose mother tongue is not Tamahak. Among the Berber languages, a particular language or dialect is usually designated by the feminine form of the name of the people who speak it—so that, for instance, the Imuhag of Ahaggar call their language Tamahak, the Imajeghen of Aïr call their language Tamajek, and Tuareg groups designate themselves as Kel Tamasheq, meaning literally "speakers of Tamasheq," and identify

themselves with the term *Temust*, meaning "nation" in Tamasheq. Tamasheq is related to Tifinagh—the ancient Libyan language whose evidence is provided by inscriptions on ancient rock paintings in the central Sahara.

Tuareg societies are characterized by their rigid social stratification systems. In its classic formation, the basic division is between "nobles" (**Imajeghen**), vassals (**Imghad**, **Ineslemen**, and **Isherifen**), servants (**Izeggaghen** and **Ineden**), and slaves (**Iklan**). The nobles made up a warrior aristocracy. Through their possession of camels and their rights over arms, they controlled the means of physical force, the ultimate sanction of their political hegemony. The main institutions through which the surplus labor of lower classes was appropriated and through which a set of economic activities and interests of these two classes was integrated within the entire economy were the relationships known as **Tamazlayt** and **Tamekchit**. On independence, these relationships have ceased to function in their traditional forms. In addition, the social organization of the nobility, in terms of succession, inheritance, residence, and group membership, is matrilineal, while that of the vassals is predominantly patrilineal.

Politically, the Tuareg have never established a single politically united state or federation but comprise several major tribes or groups that seem to correspond to politically autonomous units or confederations (*see the entries under* ***Kel*** *for details on various Tuareg groups*). They founded a number of sultanates, such as that in **Agadez** in the 15th century. In 1770, the Tuareg conquered **Gao** and **Timbuktu** in Mali. With the advent of Arabs in North Africa, they converted to Islam and were devoted followers of the **Sanusiyya** religious order, which led a jihad against French rule in the region. With the approach of independence in North and West Africa, several key Tuareg political figures in Mali and Niger attempted to form a federation separate from the political control of the "black south." In Mali and Niger, they have been repressed, and incidents of unrest and rebellions have been common. Roots of unrest and calls for self-determination go back to the rebellions of the Tuareg in Mali in 1980s. *See also* DROUGHT; TUAREG REBELLIONS.

TUAREG REBELLIONS. Like many African peoples, the **Tuareg** were affected by the decolonization and national liberation efforts

and transformations sweeping Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. They were tempted to envisage a postcolonial all-Tuareg Saharan Republic, **Azawad**, bringing together Tuareg-populated areas in northern Mali, northern Niger, southern Algeria, and southwestern Libya. However, the Tuareg's primary allegiances and ties were directed to their immediate and local communities. Since the times of the **Sultanate of Agadez**, the Tuareg have never established a unified political and military front.

During the years following national independence in 1960s, the new national governments could not meet the goals of development. Administrative inexperience, combined with unworkable social and economic policies, proved disastrous to the economy and to the people's civil and political liberties. In addition to poverty was a conviction among the Tuareg that they were singled out for persecution and discrimination and were more marginalized than other ethnic groups in the distribution of state benefits. The Tuareg observed that most of the senior leaders of postcolonial Mali and Niger, for example, were drawn from the southern ethnic groups, which were hostile to the pastoral culture of the northern nomads. The Tuareg were also alarmed by the rhetoric of the land reform program that threatened their privileged access to agricultural products and exchange relationships with sedentary vassal groups. Some Tuareg leaders began to suspect that the new national elites were bent on destroying Tuareg culture (ecocide) under the pretext of economic growth and development.

The first Tuareg rebellion began in northern Mali in early 1962, employing guerilla tactics and raids against government targets. The attacks escalated in size and destructiveness through 1963, resulting in very disturbed conditions in the Tuareg-populated north. However, the Tuareg attacks did not reflect a unified leadership or clear evidence of a coherent strategic vision. The insurgents generally depended on their camels for transportation and were equipped mainly with unsophisticated and rather old small arms. They also failed to mobilize the Tuareg community as a whole. The Malian government reacted quickly and harshly. Mali's army conducted repressive counterinsurgency operations. By the end of 1964, the government's harsh methods had crushed the rebellion. It then placed the Tuareg-populated northern regions under a repressive military administration. Consequently, Mali's Tuareg fled as **refugees** to neighboring

countries. While the government had succeeded in ending the rebellion, its coercive and violent measures alienated many Tuaregs who had not supported the insurgents. Atrocities and human rights abuses on both sides contributed to a climate of fear and distrust in the north. Furthermore, while the government subsequently announced a number of programs to improve local infrastructure and economic development, it lacked the resources to follow through on most of them. As a result, Tuareg grievances remained largely unaddressed, and resentment continued in many Tuareg communities after 1964. Clearly, the problem of instability in the north had simply been deferred, not resolved.

Moreover, the region suffered devastating **droughts** between 1968 and 1974 and then again in 1980 and 1985. This undermined the pastoral livelihood of nomadic peoples in the Sahelian states, killing a very high proportion of the livestock and forcing many of the nomads to find refuge in squalid refugee camps or in urban areas in the south, where their pastoral skills were of little economic value. The Tuareg accused the government of Mali of disregarding the plight of the Tuareg in the drought of the early 1970s, arguing that Malian officials withheld food relief in order to destroy the Tuaregs or drive them out of Mali. During this period, the state undertook significant relief efforts among the northern nomads, including the Tuareg.

The original grievances of Mali's Tuaregs in the early 1960s have never completely disappeared. These were rooted in a Tuareg conviction that the national governments were unresponsive and hostile. The grievances were exacerbated by the highly coercive counterinsurgency campaign during the first Tuareg rebellion and by the subsequent harsh military administration of northern Mali. Many Tuaregs still distrusted and feared their non-Tuareg neighbors. Fears of cultural genocide stemmed also from the government handling of famine relief. Tuaregs increasingly were dissatisfied with conditions of life in the country at the end of the 1980s and blamed the government for their misery. The general dissatisfaction in Mali with President Moussa Traoré's government resulted in a coup d'état in 1991. However, prior to the coup, the Tuaregs of northern Mali launched their second rebellion (in June 1990). In 1990, they consisted of four major movements and a number of minor ones. Tuareg combatants were mounted on light vehicles and seemed to have an unlimited supply of modern small arms. They also were much more effective in de-

stroying government facilities and eluding government pursuit, finding apparent safe haven in neighboring countries.

While the bulk of the rebels apparently were Tuaregs, some Arabs and Maures joined the various rebel groups. Small numbers of rebels came from other Malian groups, including Bellahs or black Tuareg. Initially, the government reacted to the new Tuareg rebellion by declaring a state of emergency in the north and attempting to repeat the strong-arm counterinsurgency measures of the 1960s, including very destructive and massive attacks on Tuareg communities. This featured encouragement of the non-Tuareg population in the region to attack Tuareg communities. The army and the other security forces (Gendarmerie and National Guard) sustained significant casualties. The rebellion compounded the political and economic problems of the state: the regime faced severe financial constraints and a growing domestic opposition. President Traoré, to his credit, recognized very early that he could not achieve a military solution to the rebellion, and he accepted offers of mediation by Algeria. On 6 January 1991, government and Tuareg military leaders, after a series of discussions, signed the **Tamanrasset Accords** (in the Algerian town of the same name). Of great significance was the fact that, despite the change in the Malian government as a result of the coup d'état in March 1991 and the national election of 1992, all parties confirmed the provisions of the Tamanrasset Accords. As a result of the continued consultations within Mali, leaders from all communities signed the **National Pact** in Mali's capital, Bamako, on 11 April 1992.

In Niger, prior to the 1990 Tuareg assault on the Niger armed forces, there was growing discontent among Tuaregs with the economic and cultural marginalization and the sidelining of their interest by the governments of the four Saharan states. The government of Niger's repression and massacres after the **Tchin Tabaraden** ignited a full-scale rebellion. Armed groups clashed sporadically with government forces, and this coincided with the spillover of Mali's Tuareg rebellion. By 1995, about a dozen liberation movements emerged in Niger. Four of these were based in Paris under the umbrella organization of the **Coordination de la Résistance Armée** (CRA), and four established the Mouvement des Fronts Unifiés de l'Azawad. **Mano Dayak** led the efforts of the CRA in Paris and wrote a book on the Tuareg grievances against the government of Niger.

In 1991, the National Conference in Niamey recognized the Tuareg grievances, and the government dismissed some senior military officials for their role in the **Aïr** atrocities and initiated a dialogue with the Tuareg, until then regarded as bandits or rogue elements seeking revenge. The Tuareg demands were the evacuation of the government of Niger military forces from Aïr; a federal system, with the north enjoying cultural, religious, administrative, and military autonomy; funding for the economic development of the north; integration of Tuareg in the army; and independence for a Sahara Confederation of Tuareg peoples—an extremist position voiced by some Tuaregs, mostly those of Mali. Sporadic negotiations and armed clashes continued during the early 1990s, but they led nowhere. In 1994, with Niger's government drained by the cost of the war, it decided to negotiate with the Tuareg under the auspices of France. These negotiations led to a cease-fire in April 1995. They also resulted in Niger's agreeing to the Tuareg demands, including setting up ethnically defined administrative areas with their own assemblies, governors, and cultural autonomy.

TUAREG REVOLT OF 1962. *See* TUAREG REBELLIONS.

TUAREG REVOLT OF 1990–1992. *See* TUAREG REBELLIONS.

TWIZA. This term refers to a pact of economic cooperation between households or individuals. It provides mutual aid and collective labor assistance for workers unable to complete certain agricultural tasks within a reasonable amount of time. In this manner, a worker is assured of labor to work his land and harvest its produce to make up for labor shortage within his household. Labor is exchanged on a field-by-field basis. The *twiza* labor is contributed for the duration it takes to complete a certain agricultural task, no matter how small or large the field may be.

– U –

UNION DEMOCRATIQUE (UD). This is an offshoot of the **Mouvement Populaire** and was founded in 2001 by Bouazza Ikken after he

was forced out of the Mouvement Populaire Party and the Mouvement Populaire National Party. The UD did well for a new party in 2002 elections (10 seats), but it received less votes than both the reorganized Mouvement Populaire and the Mouvement Populaire National.

– W –

WATTASIDS (1465–1549). They are also known in Arabic as Banu Wattas, a Berber dynasty belonging to a branch of the **Zanata** confederation. They served as regents for the **Marinids** and took over as sultans. In the 13th century, they settled in eastern Morocco and the **Rif** after migrating from southern Libya and Algeria. Although they were conquered by the Sa`diyin dynasty, their short-lived reign is replete with some significant military victories over the Portuguese. The battle of Ma`mura, in which the Portuguese naval and land forces were dealt a severe defeat, indicated that the Moroccan state was modernizing its military forces. Similar to the Marinid religious credentials deficit and compounded by years of Portuguese invasion, the Wattasids were easily taken over by the Sa`diyin. Like their predecessors on the throne, they also provided an environment for education and culture.

WOMEN. The position and status of women varies from group to group, and, to a large extent, their status is determined by the social organization of the group in question. Based on national statistics, one can deduce that women make up more than half of the entire population and that about the same number of women receives schooling as men, although this varies in some countries. In general, more women are illiterate than men given the lack of educational opportunities and social services during colonialism and independence and the inaccessibility of much of Berber land.

Since Berber societies are either matriarchical or patriarchical, the spectrum of women's rights reflects this organizing element. In the matriarchical society of the **Tuareg**, ethnographic accounts tell of the high position and status of women. They own property, initiate divorce, lead raids, have leadership positions and participate in council deliberations, and do not wear the veil. They are active agents in the

public sphere and take the lead in musical celebrations. In patriarchical societies such as those of the Aït Atta of Morocco, women also enjoy a similar position and status as that of the Tuareg except that property and inheritance and public performance tend to favor men. In some areas, women work and irrigate fields, weave, and make pottery.

In Berber history, women have played vital roles. While there are the examples of **al-Kahina**, **Kenza** of Awraba, **Lalla Fadhma n'-Soumer**, Dassine Ult Ihena, Fadhma at Mansur Amrouche, and **Taos Amrouche**, women have traditionally had significant and influential roles in Berber societies. During the early resistance against the encroachment of colonialism and the independence struggles, women played decisive roles in the battlefield as well as in the organization of resistance. Since independence, women have slowly managed to contest and chip away at the core fundamentals of patriarchy and have called for equal inheritance, equal age at marriage, equal divorce rights, and the abolition of polygamy. In general, the record is mixed and varies in some countries. Despite some legal gains, the revival of *shari`a*-minded Islamization and **Arabization** and the emergence of political **Islam** throughout the region have heightened women's fears and concerns. Recent research among the Tuareg, for instance, shows that the processes of Arabization and Islamization, alongside those of sedentarization and modernization, have largely undermined the status and position of women in society. These processes, in one way or another, have resulted in the decline of the importance of matrilineal descent, introduction of seclusion of women and polygyny, exclusion of women from judicial and political decision-making structures, and abuse by men of women's marital rights and manipulation of Islamic divorce procedures. In response to these changes, an increasing number of women have opted to live independently of men and are forming all-female communities in the desert—suggestive of classic Tuareg matrilineal-based social organization. *See also* LITERATURE; MUSIC; TIN HINAN.

WORLD AMAZIGH CONGRESS. Its Berber name is *Agraw Amadlan Amazigh*. It was established in September 1995 in St.-Rome de Dolan by the Paris-based sociocultural association Tamazgha. The congress is a transnational nongovernmental organization headquar-

tered in Paris, and its member associations come from North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and the diaspora. The first World Amazigh Congress was held in Gran Canaria (Tafira in Berber, or Las Palmas, **Canary Islands**) in August 1997. It has also held several meetings since in Lyon in 1999 and in Roubaix in 2002. The objective of the congress is the establishment of “true Amazigh sovereignty” throughout Tamazgha, or land where Berber people reside, regardless of state borders. While the congress is transnational, its sphere of activities and structure are organized along national lines. It is a vehicle for fostering unity among Berbers, promoting Berber culture and **language** nationally and globally, and publicizing the plight of Berbers throughout Tamazgha, or the Berber nation, an area stretching from western Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Niger River.

– Y –

YANNAYER. This term means “January,” and it refers to the Amazigh New Year’s Day. It is also called *ighf n’usggas*, *asggas ujdid*, *haguza*, or *byannu*, all denoting “new year.” It is a common custom that on New Year’s Eve or Day, some special foods are made. In south-central Morocco, *haguza*, or a seven-vegetable meal, is prepared. It is made of some meat, pitted dates, chickpeas, lentils, wheat, corn, and barley. Greens (*zagzaw*) are added to it so that the coming year may be green, and hot chili powder is not used since it may forecast a hot or difficult year for people. The origin of Yannayer dates back to the earliest known recorded testimony of the Berber migration and also the earliest written documentation of Libyan history. Inscriptions found in ancient Egypt dating from the Old Kingdom (ca. 2700–2200 B.C.) are the first instances in which the Amazigh people were mentioned in historical records and also refer to the foundation of the 22nd Egyptian dynasty by the Amazigh ruler, Pharaoh Sheshonq I, in 950 B.C. While Imazighen organize their religious life in concordance with the lunar-based calendar of Islam, their calendar is based on the Julian (solar) calendar, by which farming and pastoral nomadism are regulated by seasons, with the present Gregorian year of 2005 corresponding to the Amazigh year of 2955.

YASSINE ABDESSALAM (1928–). He is an Islamic activist, leader, and ideologue of the movement of Jama`at al-`Adl wal-Ihsan (Justice and Charity Association). With its estimated 30,000 members or more and its numerous and diffuse charitable, educational, and recreational associations, Al-`Adl wal-Ihsan represents the most influential and structured Islamist movement in Morocco. The movement owes much of its importance to the charisma of its founder, 77-year-old Sheikh Abdessalam Yassine, a former regional inspector in the Ministry of National Education. Yassine was born into a modest farming household in the Haha area, not far from the town of Essaouira in the **Sous** region, and he is a native speaker of Tashalhit, a dialect of **Tamazight**. He was educated at Ben Youssef Institute in Marrakech and was later attributed an Idrisid genealogy and thus elevated to Sharifian, or holy rank. In 1959, he traveled to the United States and France for educational training, spending 45 days in each country. Subsequent to a "crisis of faith" in 1965, he first became a disciple of the Sufi Sheikh al-Haj `Abbas of the *tariqa* Boutchichya near Berkane but made a sensational entry into politics nine years later by addressing an open protest letter to King Hassan II: *al-Islam awi Attoufane* (Islam or the Deluge). This gesture cost him six years in custody. Placed under house arrest in Salé, he regained his freedom only in May 2000 by order of Mohammed VI and immediately made public his second address: "Memorandum: To Whom It May Concern." To the young sovereign, he said this: "Redeem your father from torment by restoring to the people the goods they are entitled to"—in other words, the royal fortune, which, according to him, is equivalent to the country's foreign debt.

His writings are known for their scathing criticism of the monarchical institution, the official religious scholars, and the westernized elite, whom he blames for de-Islamizing and secularizing society. He also calls for a reconciliation of the state and *da`wah* (call) and the implementation of the prophetic model, which calls for the restoration of the caliphate. Yassine produced several books, political and economic tracts and commentaries, and spiritual letters. He also published a now-banned monthly magazine, *al-Jama`ah*. He authored more than 20 books and tracts. His works in French include *Islamiser la modernité* (1998), *La révolution à l'heure de l'islam* (1980), and *Pour un dialogue avec les intellectuels occidentalisée* (1980). His

Arabic publications are *Islam between the Appeal and the State* (*al-islam bayna al-dda`wa wa ddawla*, 1971), *Tomorrow Islam*! (1972), *The Prophetic Method* (*al minhaj al-nnabaoui*, 1982), *Islam and the Challenge of Marxism-Leninism* (1989), *Exemplary Men* (1989), *Introduction to the Method* (1989), *Islam and the Challenge of Secular Nationalism* (1989), *Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (1990), *Muslim Reasoning between the Sovereignty of Revelation and the Domination of Secular Rationalism* (1994), and *A Dialogue with Honorable Democrats* (1994). His spiritual and political letters include *Islam or the Deluge: An Open Letter to the King of Morocco* (1974), *Spiritual Gems* (1992), *Letter of Reminder* (1995), *Letter to Students and to All Muslims* (1995), *Spiritual Poems* (1996), *On the Economy* (1995), *Guide to Believing Women* (1996), *Dialogue of the Past and the Future* (1997), *Dialogue with an Amazighi (Berber) Friend* (1997), *Spirituality* (1998), *Memorandum: To Whom It May Concern* (2000), and *Justice: Islamists and Power* (2000).

As an accomplished Arabist and the leading Islamist thinker, Yassine published a book in 1997 titled *Dialogue with an Amazigh Friend* (*Hiwarun ma`a Sadiqin Amazighy*), in which he objects to the political dimension of Amazigh cultural and linguistic revival. He claims that the revival of the ancient Berber script of **Tifinagh** and the demand for constitutional change to recognize Tamazight as an official **language** in Morocco were not only serving French postcolonial interests but also represented blasphemous attacks on the Qur'an and Islam.

YUSI AL-, SIDI LAHCEN (1631–1691). His full name is Abu `Ali al-Hasan Ibn Mas`ud Ibn Muhammad Ibn `Ali Ibn Yusuf Ibn Dawud Ibn Yadressan al-Buhadiwi. He is also known as Hassan al-Yusi. He was one of the greatest Moroccan scholars, and after his death he has been venerated as a saint. Al Yusi was born in the Aït Yussi of Enjil tribe south of Fès. The Aït Yussi tribe belongs to the Aït Idrassen confederation of the **Middle Atlas Mountains**. He was trained in **Sijilmassa**, Tamgrut in the Drâa, the **Sous**, and Marrakech. After he left Tamgrut, he spent 15 years teaching in the **Dila *zawiya*** until it was destroyed by Moulay Rachid in 1668. Afterward, he taught at al-Qarawiyin for five years, soon after left to teach in Marrakech at the mosque of the Shorfa, and then spent the remainder of his life undertaking several pilgrimages to the holy cities of the east. He died in

1691, and he is buried in the village of Tamzzazt (later called Sidi Lahcen near Sefrou), which is itself a major pilgrimage destination.

A prolific writer, a restless traveler, as well as a holy man of considerable *baraka* (divine grace), al-Yussi is said to have authored about 48 books on **literature**, poetry, legal commentaries, and theological treaties, some of which have been lost. One of significant scholarly interest is his *Muhadarat* (Lectures), which is a register of major ideas, events, and debates of all sorts of the 17th century. He is also known for his three epistles to Sultan Moulay Isma`il (1672–1727) reminding the sultan of the limits of his power and denouncing his abuse of power. A biography of the life and times of al-Yusi is available in French by Jacques Berque (1958).

YUSUF IBN TASHAFIN. He was the first **Almoravid** ruler from 1061 to 1106. He was the cousin of the two Lamtuna (**Sanhaja**) leaders Ibn `Umar and Abu Bakr Ibn `Umar, who together with the theologian **`Abd Allah Ibn Yasin** founded the religious movement that took the Almoravids to power. He was entrusted with the military command of the conquered areas of southern Morocco, and he directed his efforts to the consolidation of power in his possessions. He laid down the basis of public administration, organized the tribesmen, and built up a coherent military force. He also transferred the seat of his government from Aghmat in the **Middle Atlas** to a fortified village that was to become the city of Marrakech (1061). Afterward, he systematically set on the expansion of his domain over northern Morocco, Algeria, and **al-Andalus**. Ibn Tashafin's statesmanship and religious conviction were essential to his efforts to forge Morocco out of various and hostile tribal emirates. He also achieved the unification of al-Andalus, divided into numerous city-states of the Party Kings and embodied into his empire. Although he undoubtedly was one of the most charismatic and powerful rulers of his time, he never ceased to recognize the spiritual guidance of the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad.

– Z –

ZAKARIYA ABU AL WARIJLANI. He was the historian of the Ibadithe imamate of **Tahart** founded by the Rustumid dynasty in the

eighth century. He himself was a member of the Ibadithe branch of the heterodox Kharijite sect. There is little information about his life and scholarly itinerary beside the fact that he was born in the town of Ouargla, near Sadrata, a center of the Ibadithe doctrine and practices. The most famous of his works, *al-Sira wa Akhabar al-A'imma* (Biographies and Traditions of the Imams), includes information on the North African Ibadithe community, on the lives and times of Ibadithe theologians and scholars, and on the rise and fall of the Rustumid dynasty. Emile Masqueray translated this work into French, *Chroniques d'Abou Zakaria* (Algiers, 1878). *See also* KHARIJISM; MOZABITES.

ZANATA. This is the name of one of the great historic Berber families of tribes. Before the Arab invasion, the Zanata confederation migrated from southern Tunisia and **Tripolitania** through the Saharan fringes, then further on to the Algerian highlands. Some remained in Tiaret and **Tlemcen**, and others moved on westward to the Moulwiya valley in Morocco. Some Zanata groups are also found in the **Sous** and the Marrakech area. From the 8th to the 11th century, Zanata tribes—the **Maghrawa**, **Maknassa**, and **Banu `Ifran**—played key roles in shaping history in North Africa except for short periods when they were displaced by the Idrisids and the **Fatimids**. In 711, Maknassa tribesmen fought under Tariq Ibn Ziyad, and this ushered in the Arab period in Spain. The history making of Zanata was one of intense rivalries with their kindered Sanhaja. The **Almohads**, however, put an end to their power aspirations in northern Morocco. From the 13th to the 16th century, particularly after the disintegration of the Almohad dynasty, a series of Zanata tribal reconfigurations merged as a force capable of taking the reigns of power in North Africa. These include **`Abd al Wadids** (1236–1550) in present-day western Algeria and the **Marinids** (1244–1465) and the **Wattasids** (1465–1549) in Morocco. The Zanata political formations were supplanted by the Sa`diyin, an Arab dynasty of Shorfa lineage claims. Today, most of the **Rif** Berber groups are said to be of Zanata ancestry.

ZAWIYA. This Arabic term refers to the corner or angle of a building. In the Maghreb, the term is used interchangeably with *ribat*, for "the abode," meaning a religious lodge or order. It is usually associated

with a saintly man (or woman in rare cases), or *murabit* or marabout. It provides a space for the practice of localized forms of **Islam**, which are dominated by the mechanical repetition of certain invocatory words and phrases as well as Quranic texts (*dhikr*), liturgical chanting, passages of mystical writings and poetry, music, and rhythmical movements or dancing, all producing a state of common trance (*al-hal*). There were also a few *zawiyas* known for religious study who struggled to combine mystical learning methods and rational thought and established some of the finest theology schools, or *madrassas*. Usually a *zawiya* stands for a place where a saint is buried, and its simple architecture consists of a whitewashed shrine with a cupola (*qubbah*). Its location constitutes an inviolable space open to those seeking refuge from enemies or the public authorities.

The spiritual head of the *zawiya* is the sheikh. He is believed either to have saintly or Sharifian credentials (descent from the Prophet Muhammad) or to be endowed with the *baraka* (divine grace) received through the links of a mystical chain from the founding saint of the order. The sheikh leads religious and mystic rituals, initiates the neophytes, and oversees the management of the brotherhood in all worldly matters. A deputy called *khalifa* assists the sheikh in the conduct of matters related to the brotherhood. A *wakil* supervises the landed property of the *zawiya*, collects the yearly contributions, and distributes alms. A number of *muqaddamin*, or mandatories, administer the daughter *zawiyas* or are in charge of missionary work. A ritual of initiation, or *bay`a*, integrates new members (*ikhwan*) into the *zawiya*.

Zawiyas often grew into strong institutions: a mosque, hostels for pilgrims, and living quarters for students and disciples who sought learning and spiritual perfection. Some *zawiyas*, as time went by, developed into institutions of higher learning, sometimes competing with the mosque universities of major urban centers. With the rise of the power of the religious brotherhoods movement, or maraboutism, in the 15th and 16th centuries, the head of a distinguished *zawiya*, if capable of mobilizing the masses and demonstrating saintly descent, might widen his zone of influence to even national or regional significance. Some *zawiyas*, because of their religious as well as economic power, managed to turn locally based ritual practices into a formal system of governance, thereby challenging the legitimacy of central rule.

The 15th and 16th centuries, a period marked by the collapse and weakness of the central state and European control of the trade routes and ports, witnessed the rapid evolution and spread of *zawiyas* throughout the country. In the middle of chaos, *zawiyas* organized charity drives and mustered unity and solidarity. These events led to the rise of the *zawiya* institution and its proliferation throughout the North African political landscape. The saints played an important role during these times of chaos and absence of the state. They reinstated peace and order, without which many activities such as pastoralism and the trans-Saharan trade would not have been possible. Their influence and quick rise to the political arena, however, gathered momentum, essentially because of preaching of jihad (holy war) and resistance against the encroaching European powers. On the religious level, equipped with the power of *baraka*, the saints favored Sufism and reinforced the spread of popular religion geared toward everyday life and anchored in experiences lived by their followers. Since independence, the *zawiyas* have lost their political influence and, with a few exceptions, much of their role in religious education and spiritual life. This loss is due to the combined hostility of the Islamic reformist movements (Salafiya movement) as well as the secular political formations of postcolonial North Africa. *See also* DILA; QADIRIYA; RAHMANIYA; SANUSIYYA; TAFILALET; TIJANIYA; YASSINE ABDESSALAM.

ZAYAANI AL-, ABU AL-QASIM IBN AHMAD (1734–1833?). He was a Moroccan statesman and a historian, born in Fès of a family descended from the Zayan, a Berber tribe in the **Middle Atlas** in the area of Khenifra. He traveled extensively in and outside Morocco, and he is considered one of the greatest premodern Moroccan historians. He studied theology and accompanied his parents on pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. On his return—and after being imprisoned by Sultan Moulay Yazid—he spent much of his life in high public service as an imperial secretary, peace envoy to rebellious Berber tribes, ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, governor first of Taza then of Sijilmassa, vizier, and chamberlain.

Al-Zayaani authored 20 books on history and geography. His historical opus consists of seven works. The most important is a general history from the creation of the world to the 19th century, *al-Turjumaan*

al-Mur`ib `an Duwal al-Mashriq wa al-Maghreb (The Lucid Interpreter of the States of the Orient and the Occident), the latter section of which (*Le Maroc de 1631–1812*) was translated by O. Houdas (1969). He deals with the entire history of the world of Islam and in detail with the Ottoman Empire and the dynasties of the Maghreb and **al-Andalus**. This work follows al-`Ifrani's *Nuzhat al-Hadi* but includes data from his own firsthand accounts and observations based on painstaking research. His other, less known works include a history of the Alawite dynasty, *al Bustan al-Darrif fi Dawlat awlad Moulay `Ali al-Sharif*, also titled *al-Rawda al-Sulaymaniya fi Muluk al Dawla al-Isma`iliya wa man Taqaddamaha min al-Duwal al-Islamiya*; a genealogy of the Shofa in the Maghreb, *Tuhfat al Hadi al-Mutrib fi Raf`I Nasab Shoraf' al- Maghreb*; two works dealing with conspirators against Sultan Moulay Sulayman (ca. 1821), *Tuhfat al-Nubaha' fi Tafriqa Bayn al-Fugaha'* and *Maqama fi Dhamm al-Rijal*; a history of the reign of Moulay Sulayman, *al-Taj wa al-Iklil fi Ma'ithir al-Sultan al-Jalil Sulayman Ibn Mohammed Ibn `Abd Allah Ibn Isma'il*; and an addendum as well as a "map of the seas" drawn by himself were added to his *al-Turjmaan*, *Takmil al-Turjmaan fi Khilafat Moulana `Abd al-Rahman*.

Al-Zayaani also wrote three geographical works of particular interest. The first, *Rihlat al-Hudhdhaq li-Mushahadit al-Buldan wa al-Afaq*, was a general geography account. The second, *al-Turjumaan al-Kubra allati jama`ati Akhbar Mudun al `Alam baran wa bahran*, relates his travels outside Morocco. The third, *Ibahat al al-Udaba' wa al-Nuhat li al-Jam` bayn al-Akhwat al-Thalat*, tells of his third voyage. Of interest also is a treatise on politics, *Risalat al-Suluk fi ma Yajibu `ala al-Muluk*.

ZAYD OU HMAD (1880s–1936). Zayd was a member of the Aït Marghad tribe, which belongs to the Aït Yaflman confederation. He also went by the nickname of Oumkhddash in reference to his clan affiliation, Aït Amkhddash. He was born in the village of Igudman, a community in the Imdghas region of the Upper Ghris valley. Today, it is part of the Aït Hani administrative *cercle* in the Errachidia Province. The area is located in the heart of the eastern **High Atlas Mountains**, and it is known for its fierce resistance against the French in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

As a youth, Zayd Ou Hmad witnessed the French invasion of his homeland and the imposition of the **Glawi** authority on parts of Dades, Tudgha, Farkla, and Ghris territories. The pacification by the French of the High Atlas and Jbel Saghro tribes was very long and hard and was accomplished only after several savage battles. In 1933, Zayd ou Hmad lost his wife during a French air bombardment of the Imdghas dissident villages. From 1934 to 1936, Zayd Ou Hmad, along with a fellow tribesman, Moha ou Hammou, led a jihad campaign against the French and their Muslim collaborators in the greater eastern High Atlas Mountains. During this time, he was the symbol of colonial resistance in the region, although he resorted to "banditry of honor" to sustain his efforts. Zayd ou Hmad and his resistance fighters tormented the French army and killed two officers, two noncommissioned officers, five legionnaires, 23 auxiliaries (or *goumiers*), and above all dealt French prestige and morale a painful blow. On 5 March 1936, Zayd Ou Hmad and his fellow fighters were killed in Tadafalt, an Aït Atta village a few kilometers south of Tinghir.

Afterward, the French authorities instituted a campaign of reprisals against villages and individuals thought to have assisted Zayd ou Hmad's struggle. Many villages were collectively punished, and several families and individuals were made destitute and inhumanly exterminated as in the cruel punishment of Sidi `Aqqa of Aghbalu nKardous (who was crucified and run over by a car) and the imprisonment and destitution (with forced labor) of the Aït Amkhaddash family and the Aït Atta notables of the Msemrir village in the Dades valley.

ZIRIDS (973–1148). The Zirid dynasty ruled present-day Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya from 973 until 1148. They belong to the Talkata tribe, a sedentary **Sanhaja** group. In the contest for power in the Maghrib between the Umayyad of **al-Andalus** and the **Fatimids**, they were Fatimid supporters, while their enemies, the **Maghrawa** of the **Zanata** confederation, took the side of the Umayyad. When the Fatimids left the Maghrib, they appointed Bulluggin Ibn Ziri as their viceroy. After his death in 984, civil strife ensued, resulting in the partition of the Zirid dynasty into two distinct provinces, one ruled by Hammad Ibn Bulluggin in the central Maghrib and the other one in Ifriqya, or present-day Tunisia, as well as **Tripolitania**.

Prior to civil war, they maintained ambiguous relations with their previous masters, the Fatimids who left to Egypt. After it, they distanced themselves from the Fatimids. In contrast to their Shiite overlords, the Sunni Zirids cultivated the Maliki religious doctrine and practices. Emir al-Mu`izz renounced obedience to his Fatimid sovereigns by assuming secular authority and recognizing the spiritual leadership of the Abbasid caliph, further suspending the dynasty's links to the Fatimids in 1045. At the same time, by the middle of the 11th century, deteriorating economic conditions precipitated the final Fatimid-Zirid split. Caravan routes were also shifting toward a terminus in Egypt of the Fatimids and toward the western Maghrib, where the Almoravids were establishing new trade centers. As a consequence, the Zirid traditional commercial hub of Qayrawan experienced serious economic crises that had an impact on the region. Al-Mu`izz became convinced that only a break with Egypt, ending Ifriqya's status of vassal of the Fatimids, would enable him to restore a measure of stability in his province.

In response to Al-Mu`izz's posturing, the Fatimids sent groups of Arab nomadic tribes, the Banu Hilal. The Zirids first did not understand the potential threat of this invasion. Rather than pushing them back, they used the tribes to police rural areas. After several attempts at dealing with this threat, in 1049, al-Mu`izz was beaten and withdrew to al-Mahdiya, leaving the city of Qayrawan defenseless to be plundered. In 1159, what remained of the Zirid dynasty was incorporated in the Almohad Empire. A significant consequence of the Arab migrations was the implantation of a substantial Arab population in North Africa, leading to a process of **Arabization** that intensified with the subsequent arrival of similar Arab nomadic groups, the Banu Sulaym and Ma`qil.

Appendix A: Ruling Chronologies of Berber Dynasties

KEY

R: reign begins/reign ends.
D: dies in office or dies later but same year reigns ends.
N.B.: Occasionally a new city or region proclaims a sultan so a new more inclusive reign begins at a second date.

I. THE MASSYLE DYNASTY (CIRTA = CONSTANTINE; THEN CHERCHELL)

Gaïa	d. 206 or 203 B.C.
Massinissa	202–148
Micipsa	148–118
Hiempsal I	118–116
Adherbal (brother of the preceding)	118–112
Jugurtha (son of Mastanabal son of Massinissa)	118–105
Gauda (brother of Jugurtha)	105–88
Hiempsal II	88–60
Juba I	60–46
Juba II	A.D. 25–23
Ptolemy	23–40

II. ARAB CONQUERERS AND GOVERNORS (QAYRAWAN)

Conquerers	*Date of Arrival*
`Abd Allah ben Sa`d	647
Mu`awiyya ben Hudayj	665

`Uqba ben Nafi` (first period of command)	670
Abul Muhajir Dinar	674–675
`Uqba (second period of command)	681–682
Zuhayr Ben Qays al-Balawi	688
Hassan Ben an-Nu`maan	692
Musa Ben Nusayr	705

Governors

Muhammad Yazid al-Qurashi	715
Isma`il ben `Ubayd Allah ben Abi al-Muhajir	718
Yazid Ben Abi Muslim	720
Bishr Ben Safwan al-Kalbi	721
`Ubayd Allah Ben al-Habhab	723 or 735
Kulthum Ben Iyad al-Qurashi	741
Hanzala Ben Safwan	742

III. THE RUSTUMIDS (TAHART, 776–908)

Abd al-Rahman Ibn Rustum	776–784
Abd al-Wahhab Ibn Abd al-Rahman	784–823
Abu Said al-Aflah Ibn Abd al-Wahhab	823–871 (868?)
Abu Bakr Ibn al-Aflah	871 (868?)
Abu al-Yaqzan Muhammad Ibn al-Aflah	871 (868?)–894
Abu Hatim Yusuf Ibn Muhammad, first reign	894–?
Yaqub Ibn al-Aflah, first reign	?
Abu Hatim Yusuf Ibn Muhammad, second reign	?
Yaqub Ibn al-Aflah, second reign	906–908

IV. THE BANU MIDRAR (SIJILMASSA, 790–976/977)

Abû Mâlik al-Muntasir bn al-yasa‘	(d. 867)
Maymûn bn Thaqîya, al-Amîr	(d. 876/877)
Muhammad bn Maymûn	(d. 884)
al-Yasa‘ bn al-Muntasir bn al-Yasa‘	(d. 909)
Wâsû, al-fath	(d. 913)

Ahmad bn Maymûn bn Thaqiya	(d. 921)
Muhammad bn Sâru al-Mu‘tazz	(d. 933/934)
Abu al-Muntasir bn al-Mu‘tazz	(942/943)
al-Muntasir samgû bn Muhammad	(942/943: a child)
Ibn Wâsûl, regent	(942–958)
Muhammad bn al-Fath Wâsûl n Maymûn al-Amîr	(d. 976/7)

V. THE FATIMIDS (MAHDIYA, THEN CAIRO, 909–1171)

`Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi Billah	909–934
Muhammad al-Qaim Bi-Amrillah	934–946
Isma’il al-Mansur Bi-Nasrillah	946–952
Ma’ad al-Muizz Li-Deenillah	952–975
Abu Mansoor Nizar al-Aziz Billah	975–996
Husayn al-Hakim Bi-Amrillah	996–1021
Ali az-Zahir	1021–1035
Ma’ad al-Mustansir Billah	1035–1094
al-Musta’li	1094–1101
al-Amir Bi-Ahkamillah	1101–1130
al-Hafiz	1130–1149
az-Zafir	1149–1154
al-Faiz	1154–1160
al-Adid	1160–1171

VI. THE ZIRIDS (SABRA-MANSURIYYA, NEAR QAYRAWAN, 973–1148)

Abul-Futuh Sayf ad-Dawla Buluggin ibn Ziri	973–983
Abul-Fat’h al-Mansur ibn Buluggin	983–995
Abu Qatada Nasir ad-Dawla Badis ibn Mansur	995–1015
Sharaf ad-Dawla al-Muizz ibn Badis	1015–1062
Abu Tahir Tamim ibn al-Muizz	1062–1108
Yahya ibn Tamim	1108–1131
Ali ibn Yahya	1115–1121
Abul-Hasan al-Hasan ibn Ali	1121–1148

VII. MAGHRAWA OF FÈS (987–1069)

One lineage with two branches providing:

1. Muhammad ben Kahzar ‘Abd Allâh ‘Atiya

Zîri	987–1001
al-Mu`iz	1001–1026
Mu‘ansar	
Hammâd	d. 1043
Mu‘ansar	1063–1067
Tamîm	1067–1069

2. Muhammad ben Khazar ‘Abd Allâh ‘Atiya al-Mu‘iz

Hamâma	1026–1032
	1037/1038–1049
Fatûh	1060–1062
‘Ajîza	d. 1063

VIII. THE HAMMADIDS (QAL`A OF BEN HAMMAD, THEN BOGGIE, 1014–1152)

Hammad Ibn Buluggin	1014–1028
al-Qad Ibn Bulugin	1028–1055
Muhsin Ibn Buluggin	1055
Buluggin Ibn Muhammad	1056–1062
Al-Nasir Ibn Alannas	1062–1088
al-Mansur Ibn al-Nasir	1088–1104
Badis Ibn al-Mansur	1104
al-Aziz Ibn al-Mansur	1105–1122
Yahya In al-Aziz	1122–1152

IX. THE ALMORAVIDS (MARRAKECH, 1061–1147

Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn	1061–1107
‘Alī Ibn Yūsuf	1107–1143
Tāshufīn Ibn ‘Alī	1143–1145

Ibrāhīm Ibn Tāshufīn	1145
Ishāq Ibn ‘Alī	1145–1147

X. THE ALMOHADS (MARRAKECH, 1130–1276)

The Mahdi Muhammad Ibn Tūmart	1130
Abd al-Mu’min	1133–1163
Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf	1163–1184
Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Mansūr	1184–1199
Muhammad al-Nāsir	1199–1213
Abū Ya‘qūbYūsuf al-Mustansir	1213–1224
Abū Muhammad al-Wāhid called al-Makhlū (The Deposed)	1224
Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad al-‘Ādil	1224–1227
Abū al-‘Ulā Idrīs al-Ma’mūn	1227–1232
Abū Muhammad ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Rashīd	1232–1242
Abū al-Hasan ‘Ali al-Sa‘īd	1242–1248
Abū Hafs ‘Umar al-Murtadā	1248–1266
Abū al-‘Ulā Idrīs al-Wathiq, called Abū Dabbūs	1266–1269
Ishaq (brother of al-Murtada)	1269–1276

XI. THE MARINIDS (AFTER TAKING THE TITLE OF AMIR AL-MUSLIMIN, FÈS, 1258–1465)

Abu Yahya `Abd al-Haqq	1244–1258
Ya`qub Abu Yusuf al-Mansur	1258–1286
Yusuf Abu Ya`qub al-Nasir	1286–1307
`Amir Ben `Abd Allah Ben Yusuf Abu Thabit	1307–1308
Sualyman Abu Rabi` (brother of the preceding)	1308–1310
`Uthman II Ben Ya`qub Abu Sa`id	1310–1331
`Ali Abu al-Hasan	1331–1348
Faris Abu `Inan	1348–1358
Muhammad Abu Ziyyaan I	1358–1358
Abu Bakr al-Sa`id (brother of the preceding)	1358–1359
Supremacy of viziers under 17 sultans	1358–1374
Ibrahim Ben `Ali Abu Salim	1359–1361

Tashfin Abu `Umar (brother of the preceding)	1361–1361
Muhammad Ben ya`qub Ben `Ali Aby Ziyyaan al-Muntasir	1361–1366
`Abd al-`Aziz I ben `Ali Abu Faris	1366–1372
Muhammad Abu Ziyyan al-Sa`id II	1372–1373
Ahmad Ben Ibrahim Abu al-`Abbas al-Muntasir (first reign)	1373–1384
Tutelage of Muhammad V of Granada during the reign of four sultans	1374–1390
Musa Ben Faris Abu Faris al-Mutawakkil	1384–1386
Muhammad Ben Ahmad Abu Zayyan al-Wathiq	1386–1387
Ahmad Ben Ibrahim Abu al-`Abbas al-Muntasir (second reign)	1387–1393
`Abd al-`Aziz II Ben Ahmad Abu Faris	1393–1396
New supremacy of viziers under 3 sultans	1393–1421
`Abd Allah Abu `Amir (brother of the preceding)	1396–1398
`Uthman III Abu Sa`id (brother of the preceding)	1398–1420

XII. THE HASFIDS (TUNIS, 1228–1574)

Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā I	1228–1249
Abū 'Abd Allah Muhammad I al-Mustansir	1249–1277
Abū Zakariyya' Yahya II al-Wathiq	1277–1279
Abū Ishaq Ibrahim I	1279–1283
Abū Hafs 'Umar I	1284–1295
Abū 'Abd Allah Muhammad II Abū Asida	1295–1309
Abū Yahya Abu Bakr al- Shahid	1309
Abū al-Baqa Khalid I	1309–1311
Abū Yahya Zakariyya' I Ibn al-Lihyani	1311–1317
Abū Darba	1317–1318
Abū Yahya Abu Bakr	1318–1346
Abū Hafs 'Umar II	1346–1347
First Marinid Occupation	1347–1349
Abū al-'Abbas Ahmad al Fadl	1350
AbūIshaq Ibrahim II	1350–1369
Second Marinid Occupation	1357
Abū al-Baqa Khalid II	1369–1370

Abū al-‘Abbas Ahmad	1370–1394
Abū Faris ‘Abd al-Aziz	1394–1434
Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammed IV al-Muntasir	1344–1435
Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān	1435–1488
Abū Zakariyyā’ Yahyā III	1488–1489
‘AbD al-Mu’min	1489
Abū Yahyā Zakariyyā’ II	1489–1494
Abū ‘abd Allāh Muhammad V	1494–1526
Mūlāy al-Hasan	1526–1542
Sultan Ahmad, called Hamīda	1542–1569
Mūlāy Muhammad	1573–1574

XIII. THE BANU `ABDUL-WADID (CALLED ALSO THE ZAYYANIDS, TLEMCEN, 1236–1550)

Abū Yahyā Yaghmurāsan Ibn Zayyān	1236–1282
Abū Sa‘id Uthmān I Ibn Yaghmurāsan	1282–1303
Abū Zayyān I Muhammad Ibn Uthmān	1303–1308
Abū Hammū I Musā Ibn Uthmān	1308–1318
Abū Tāshufīn I Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Mūsā	1318–1337
First Marinid Occupation	1337–1348
Abū Sa‘id Uthmān II Ibn Abd al-Rahmān and his brother Abū Thābit	1348–1352
Second Marinid Occupation	1352–1359
Abū Hammū II Ibn Abī Yaqūb	1359–1389
Abū Tāshufin II Abd al-Rahman Ibn Mūsā	1389–1393
Abū Thābit II Yūsuf Ibn Abd al-Rahmān	1393
Abū Hajjāj Yūsuf Ibn Mūsā	1393–1394
Abū Zayyān II Muhammad Ibn Mūsā	1394–1399
Abū Muhammad Abd Allah I Ibn Mūsā	1399–1401
Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad I Ibn Mūsā	1401–1411
Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Mūsā	1411
Abū Sa‘id Ibn Mūsā	1411
Abū Mālik Abd al-Wāhid Ibn Mūsā	1411–1424
Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad II Ibn Abd al-Rahmān	1424–1427
	1429–1430
Abū al-Abbās Ahmad Ibn Mūsā	1430–1461

Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad III al-Mutawakkil Ibn Muhammad	1461–1468
Abū Tāshufīn III Ibn Muhammad al-Mutawakkil	1468
Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad IV al-Thābit Ibn Muhammad al-Mutawakkil	1468–1504
Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad V	1504–1517
Abū Hammū III Mūsā Ibn Muhammad III	1517–1527
Abū Muhammad Abd Allāh II Ibn Muhammad III	1527–1540
Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad VI Ibn Abd Allāh	1540
Abū Zayyān III	1540–1550
Al-Hassan Ibn Abd Allāh	1550

XIV. THE WATTASIDS (FÈS, 1420-1550)

Regents

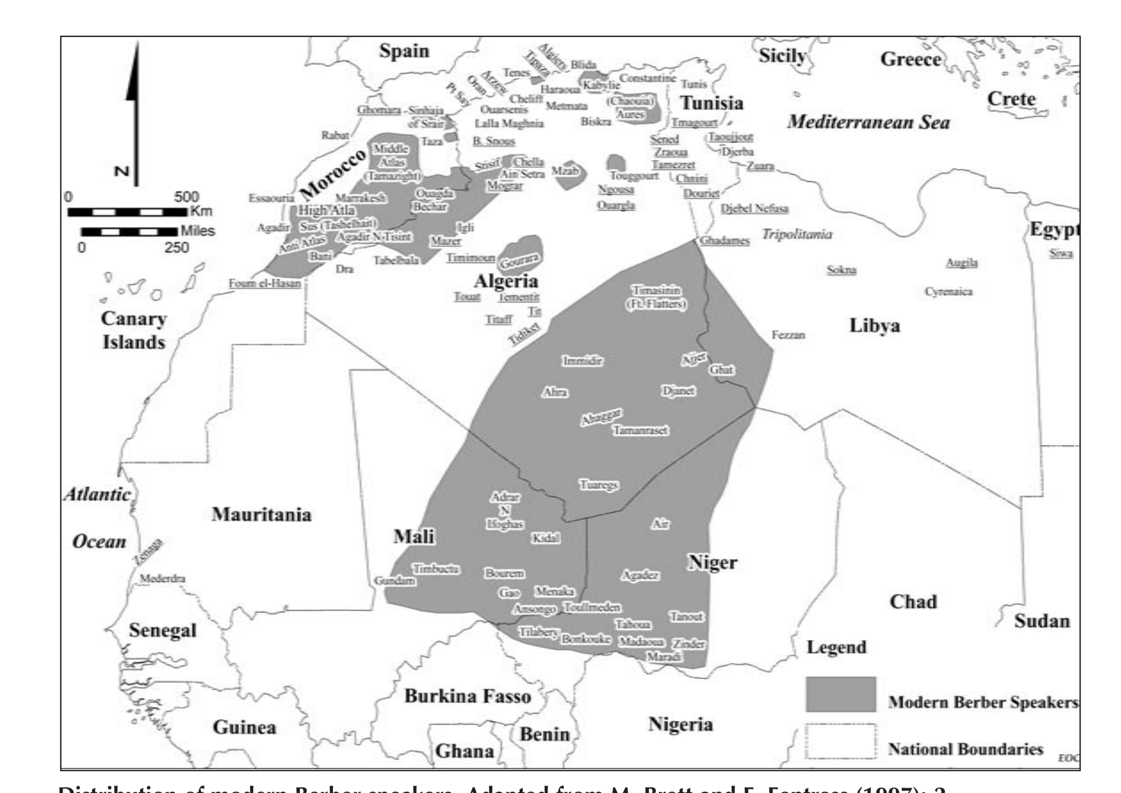
Yahyâ I Ben Zayyân Abu Zakariyya	1420–1458
Alî Ben Yûsuf ben al-Mansûr Ben Zayyân	1458–1458
Yahyâ II Ben Yahyâ I	d. 1458

Sultans

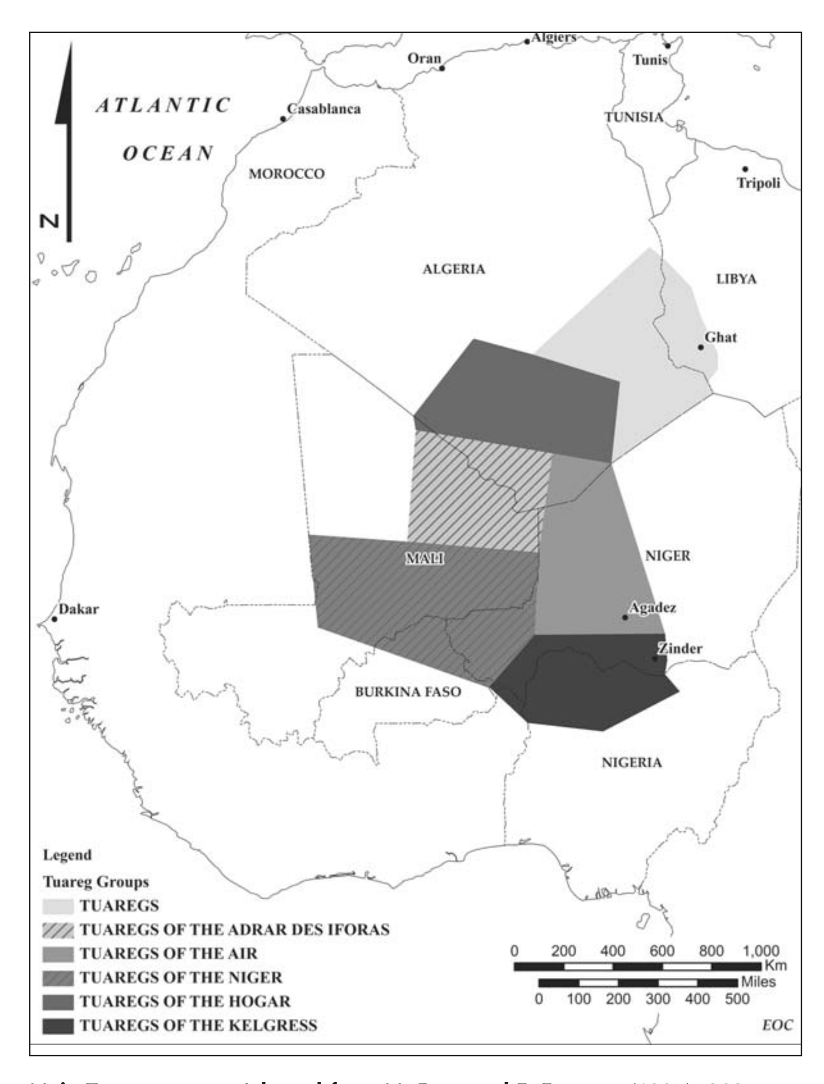
Muhammad al-Shaykh (brother of the preceding)	1471–1505
Muhammad al-Burtughâlî	1505–1524
`Ali Abû Hassûn Abu al-Hasan	1524–1554
Ahmad Ben Muhammad al-Butughali Abu `Abbas	1524–1550

Appendix B: Maps

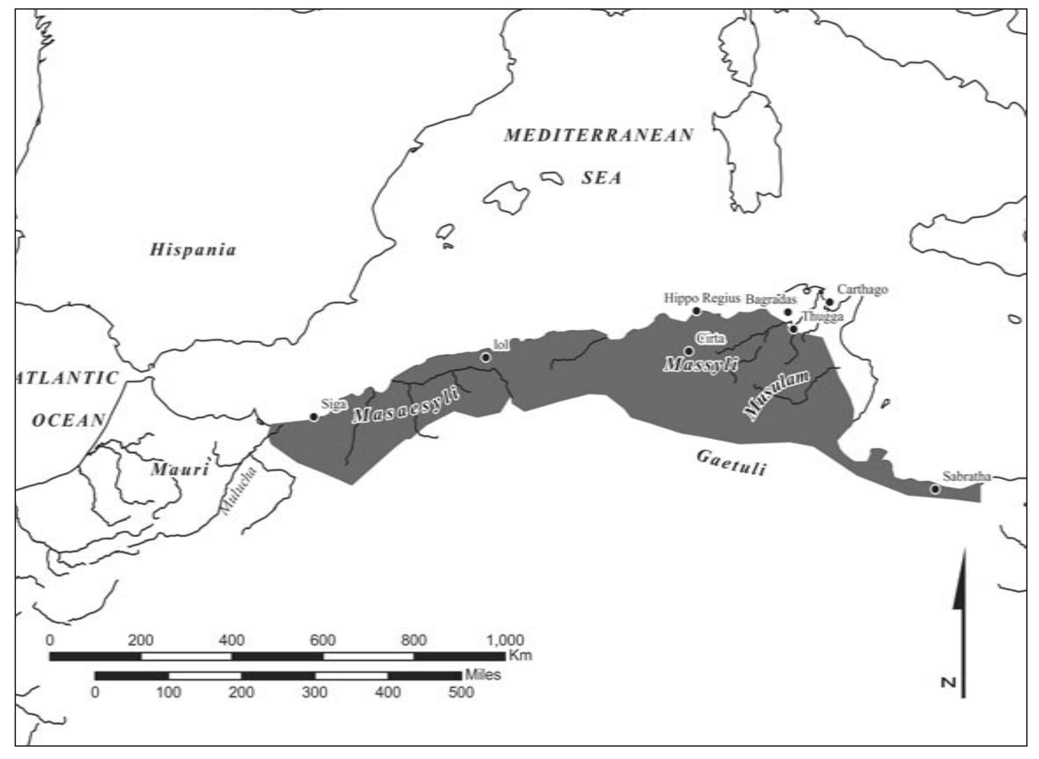
The following maps are arranged chronologically and are modified from a map published elsewhere that is listed as the source but generally are not identical to the original map. I have corrected errors and, in many instances, added information to the map. However, I would like to acknowledge the original work of cartographers in all cases. The maps that follow cover a representative sample of North African history and are intended to complement the text.



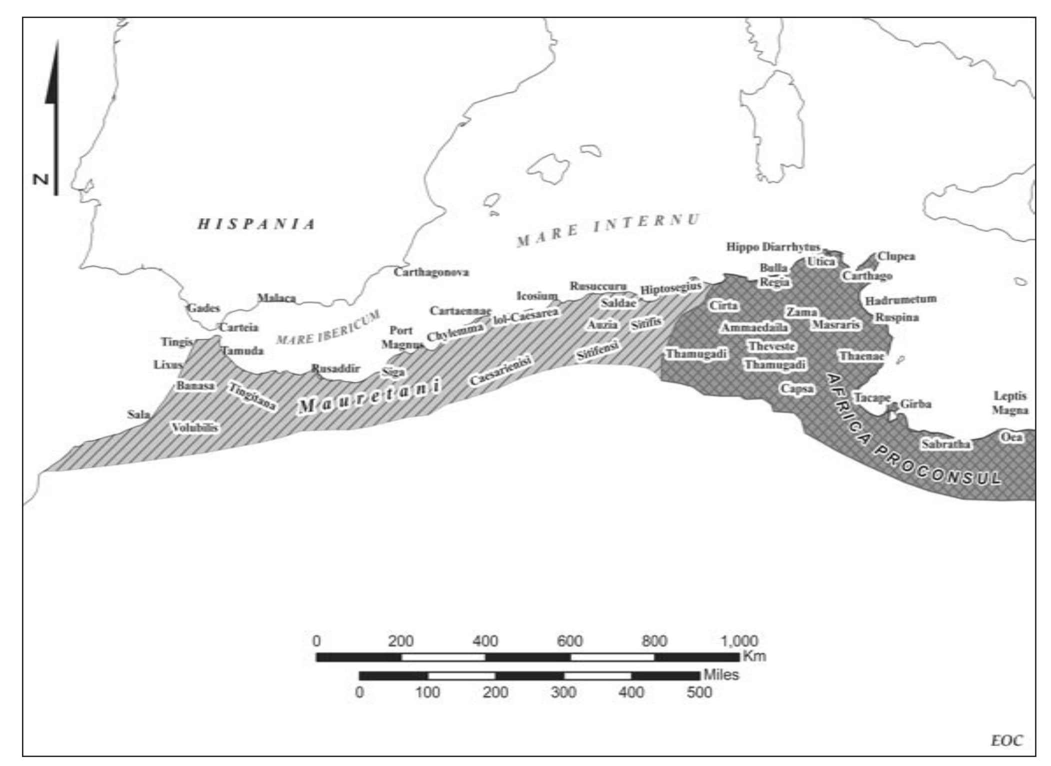
Distribution of modern Berber speakers. Adapted from M. Brett and E. Fentress (1997): 2.



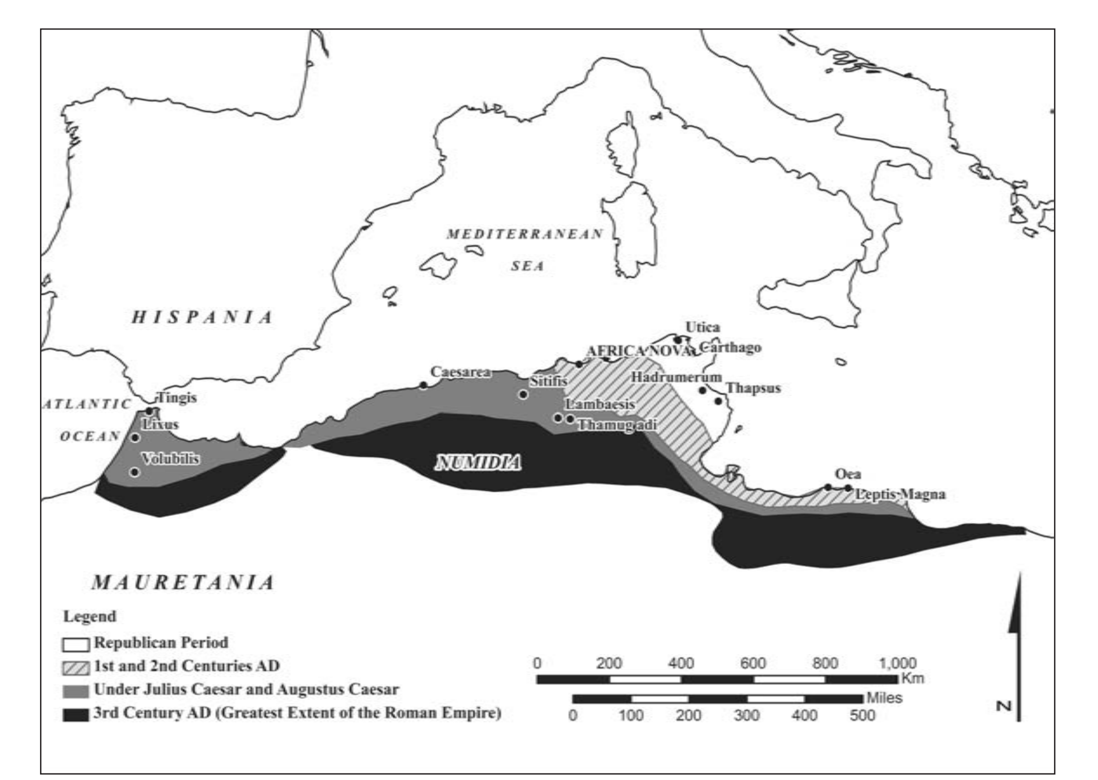
Main Tuareg groups. Adapted from M. Brett and E. Fentress (1997): 202.



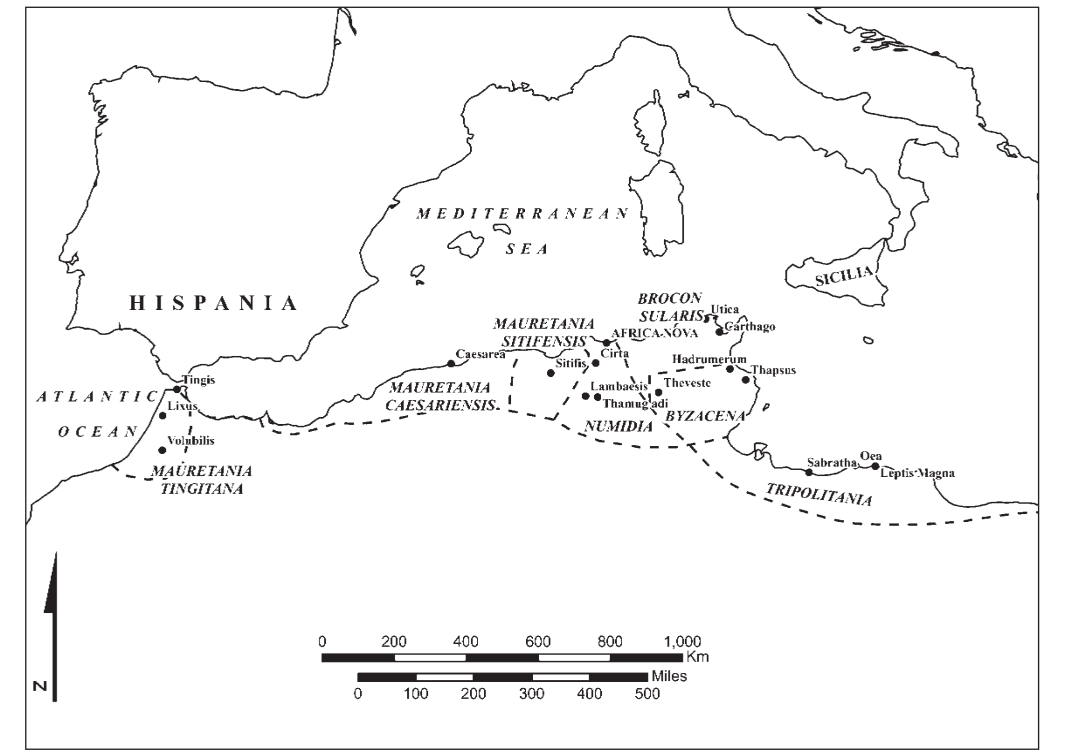
North Africa at the end of Massinissa's rule. Adapted from M. Brett and E. Fentress (1997): 28.



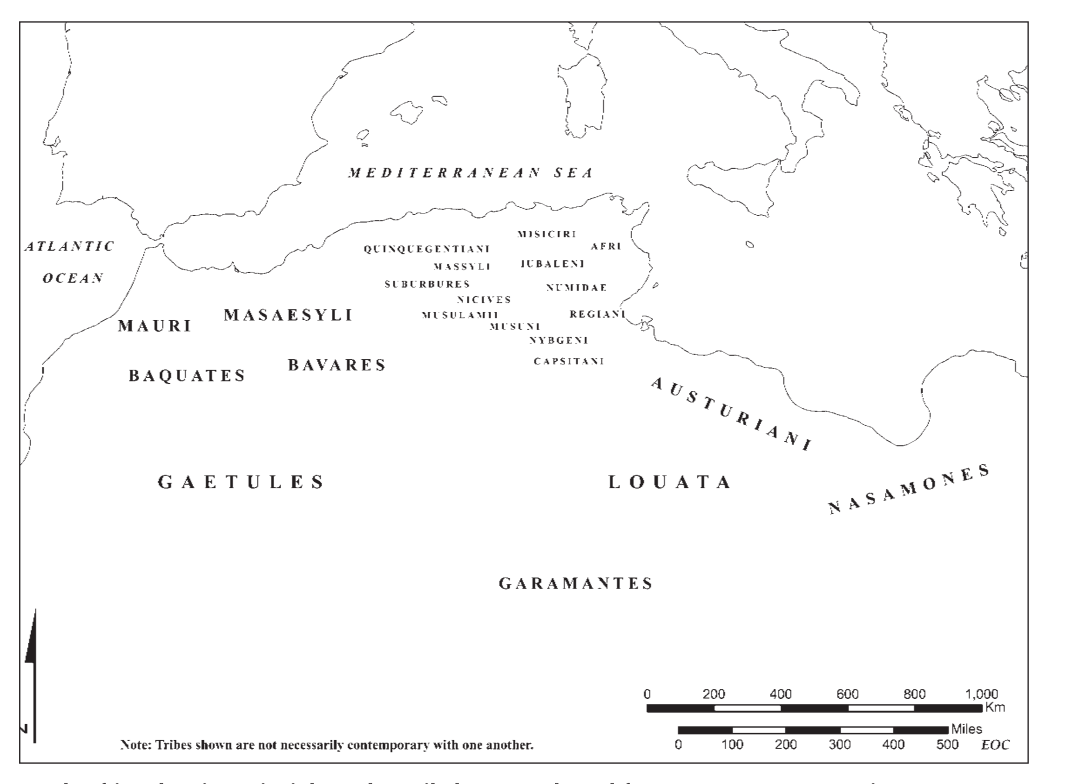
Roman North Africa. Adapted from M. Brett and E. Fentress (1997): 52.



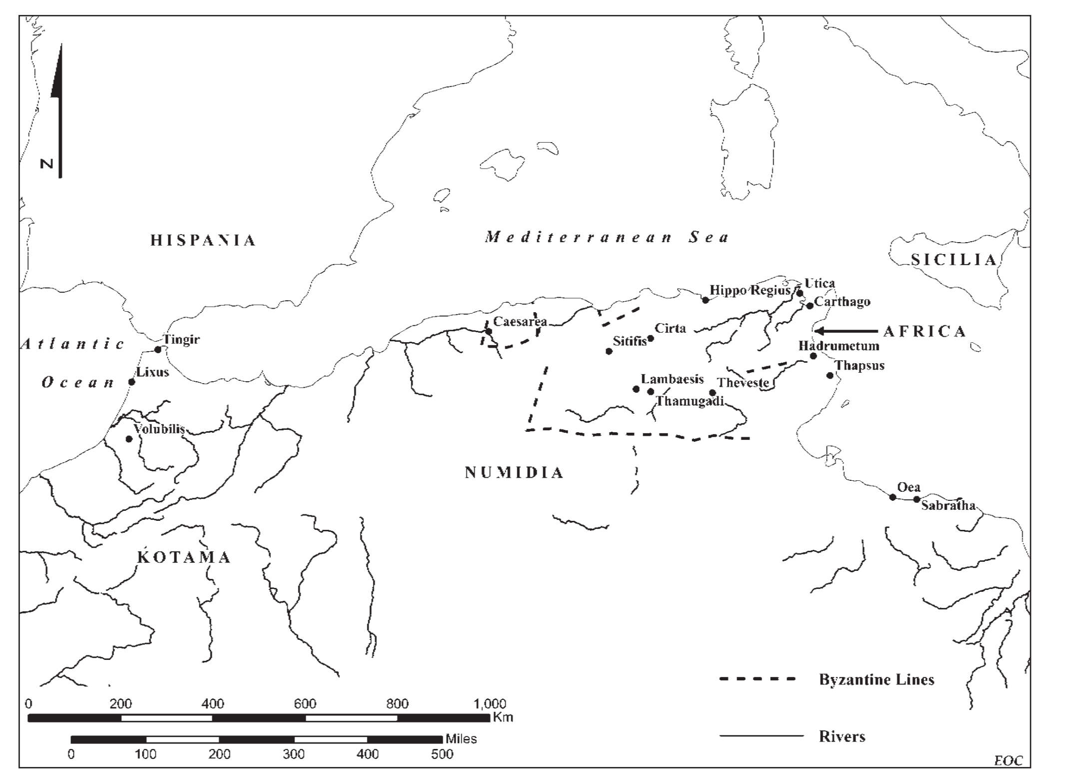
Roman North Africa from the Republican Period to the third century A.D. Adapted from S. Raven (1993): xxviii.



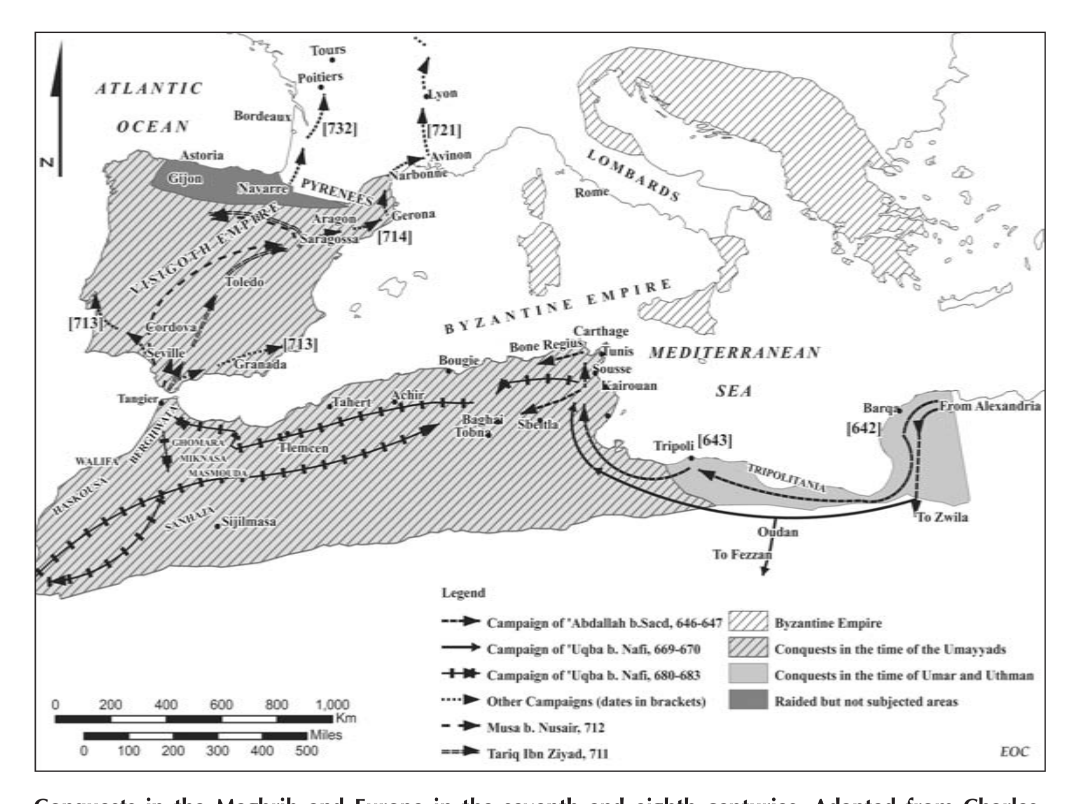
North Africa in the fourth century A.D. Adapted from S. Raven (1993): xxviii.



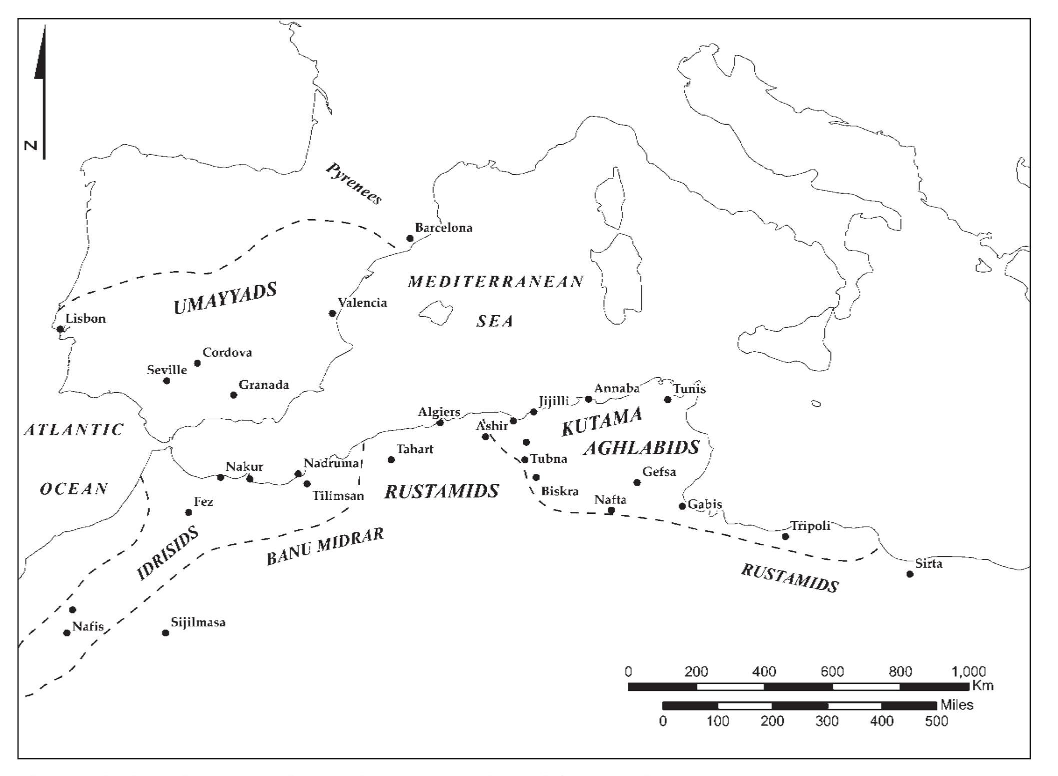
North Africa showing principle Berber tribal areas. Adapted from S. Raven (1993): xxix.



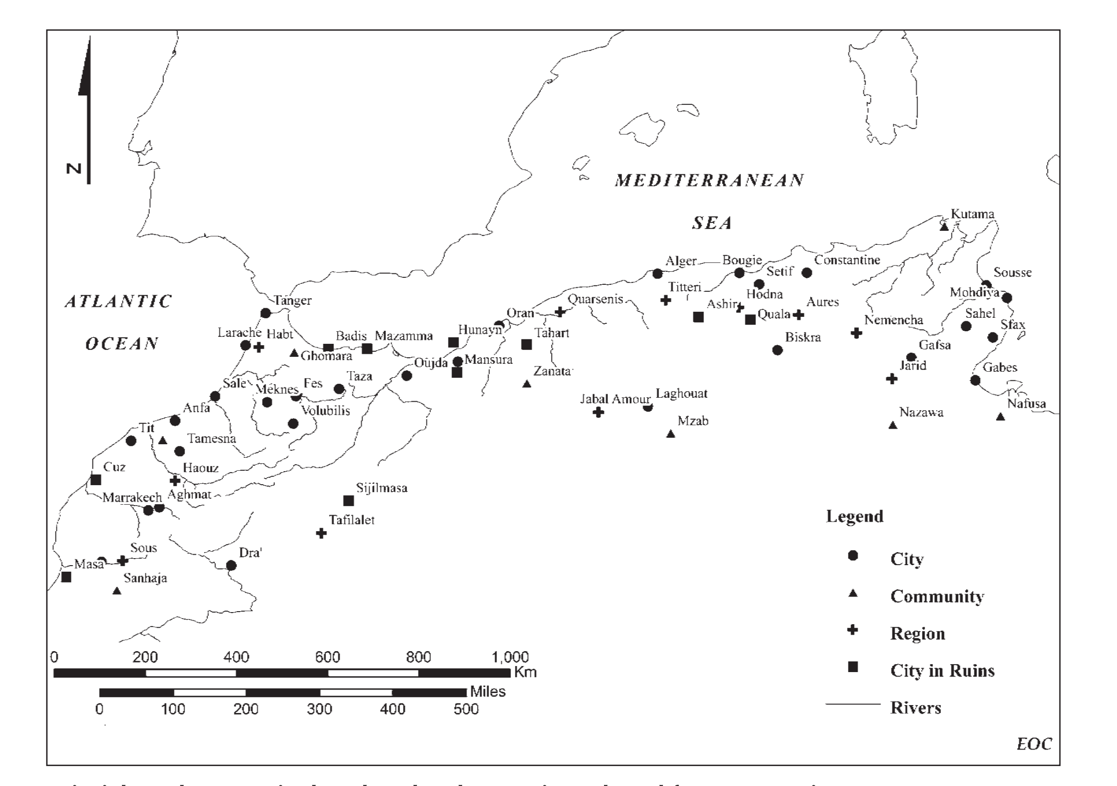
Byzantine Provinces in North Africa in the seventh century A.D. Adapted from S. Raven (1993): xxix.



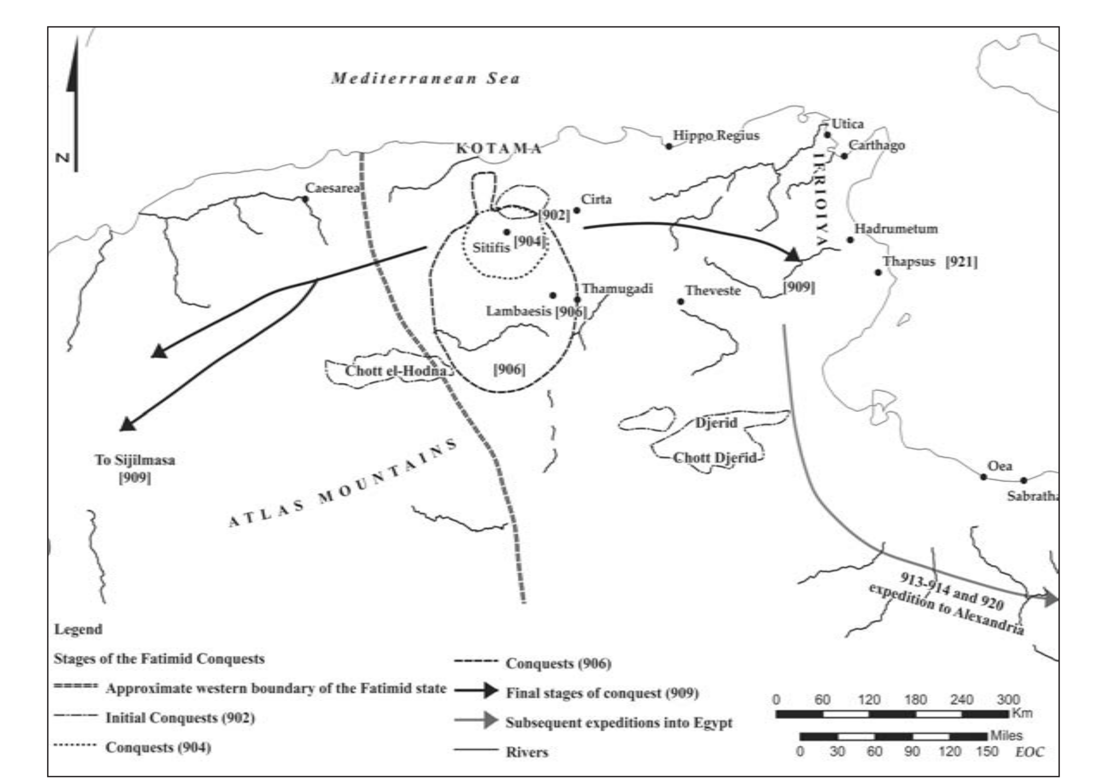
Conquests in the Maghrib and Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries. Adapted from Charles-André Julien (1970): 9.



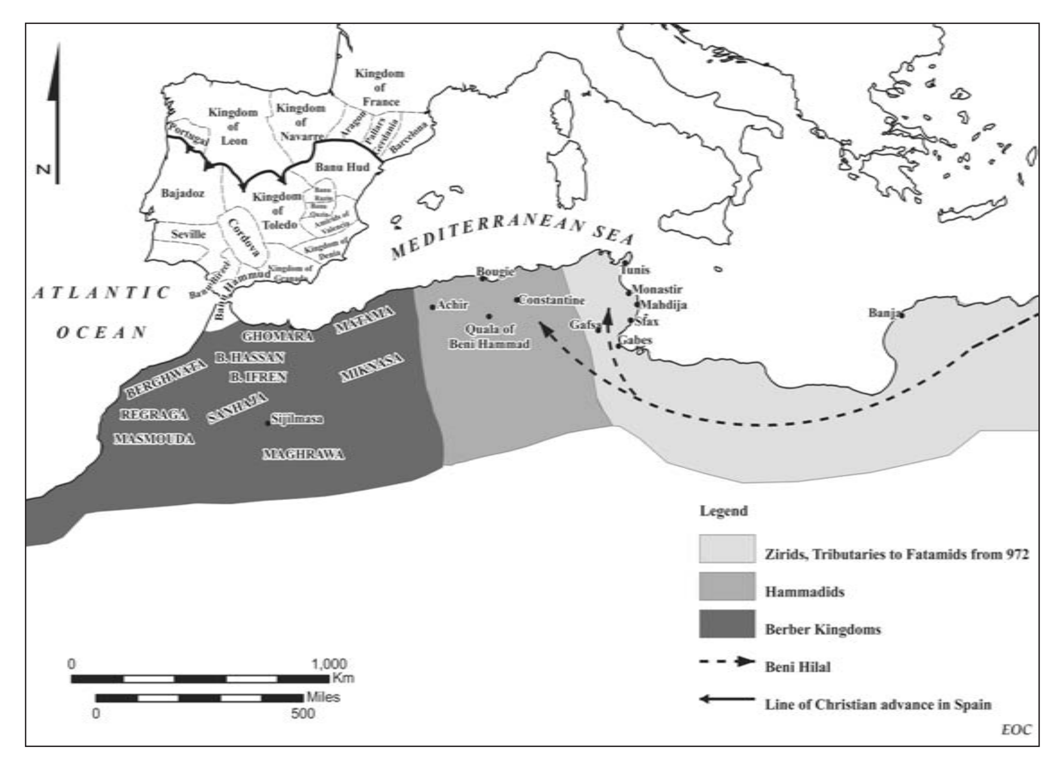
The Maghrib and Spain in the ninth century. Adapted from J. Abun-Nasr (1987): 44.



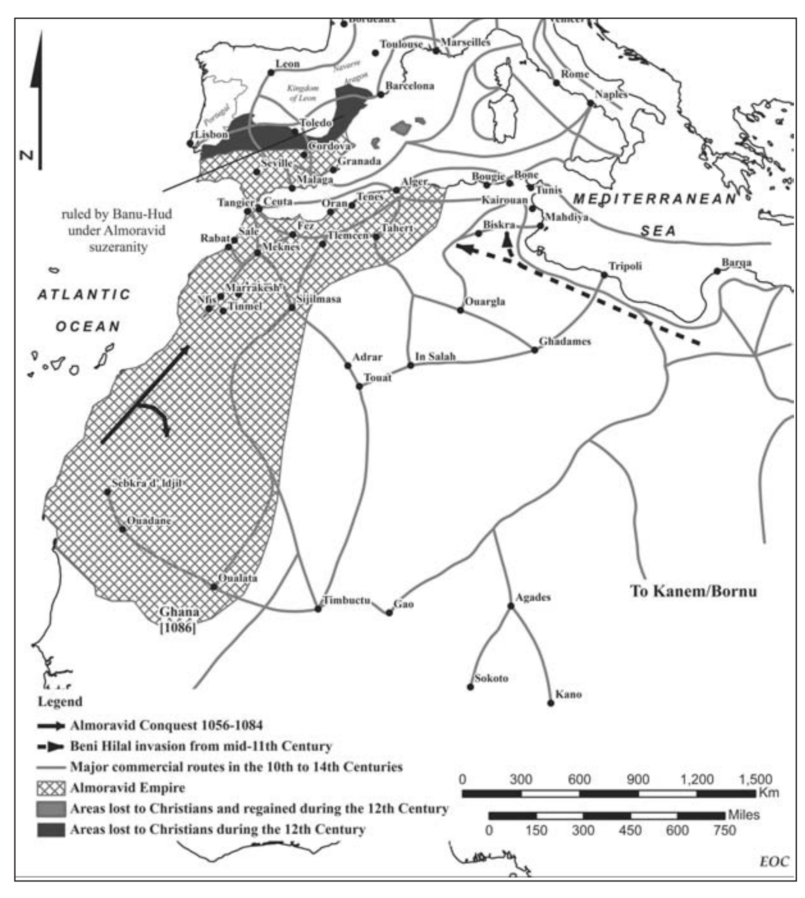
Principle Berber areas in the 9th and 10th centuries. Adapted from A. Laroui (1970): 224.



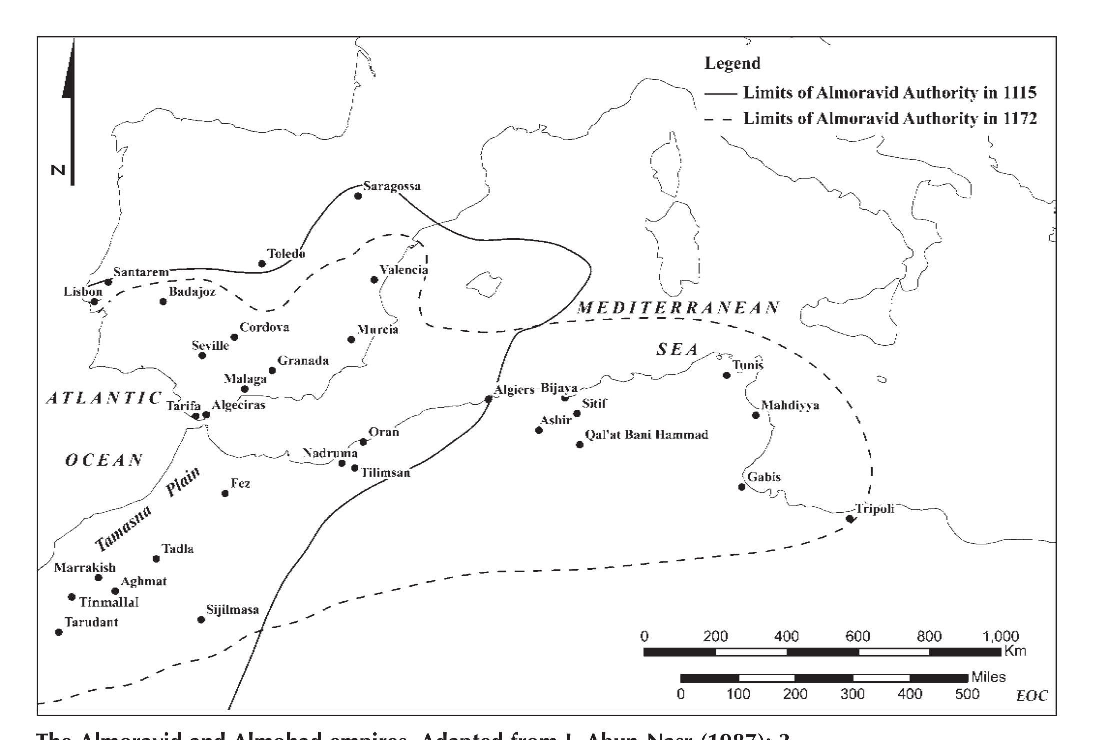
Stages of the Fatimid expansion, A.D. 902–921. Adapted from Charles-André Julien (1970): 54.



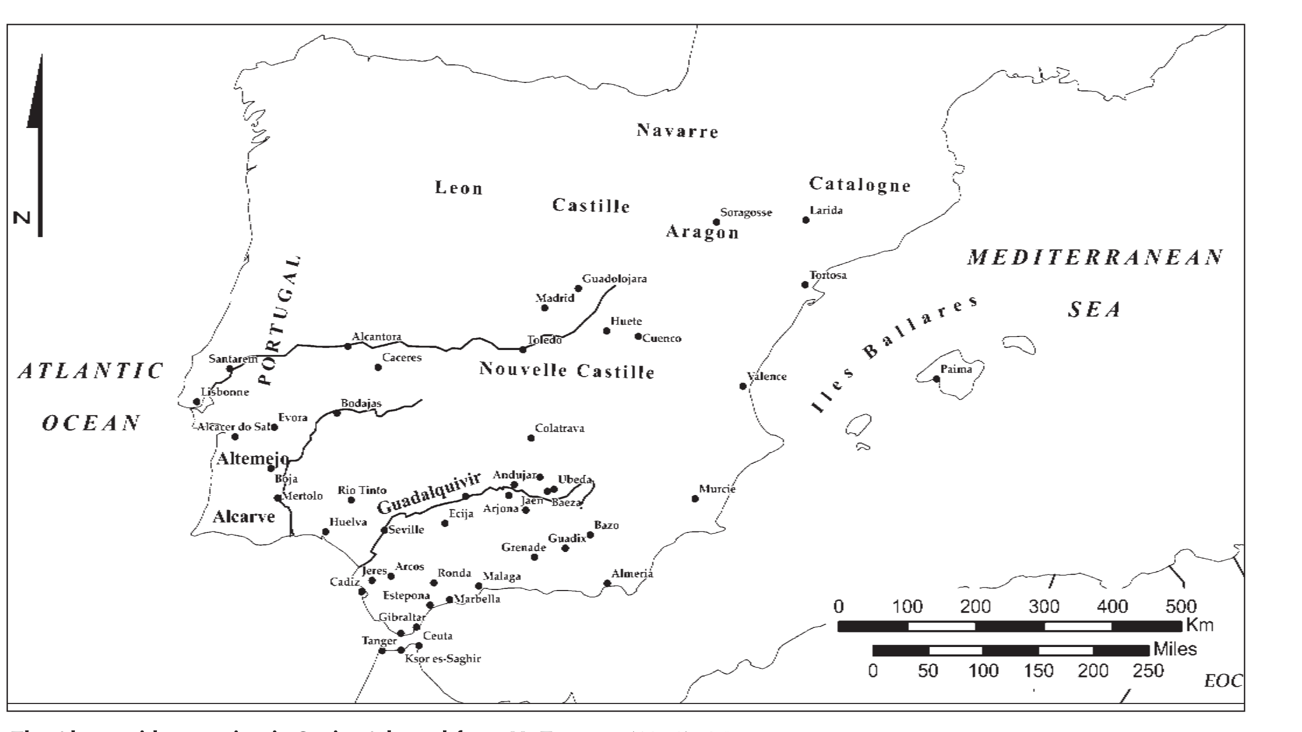
The Maghrib and Spain on the eve of the rise of the Almoravid Empire showing Muslim and Christian powers in Spain. Adapted from Charles-André Julien (1970): 69.



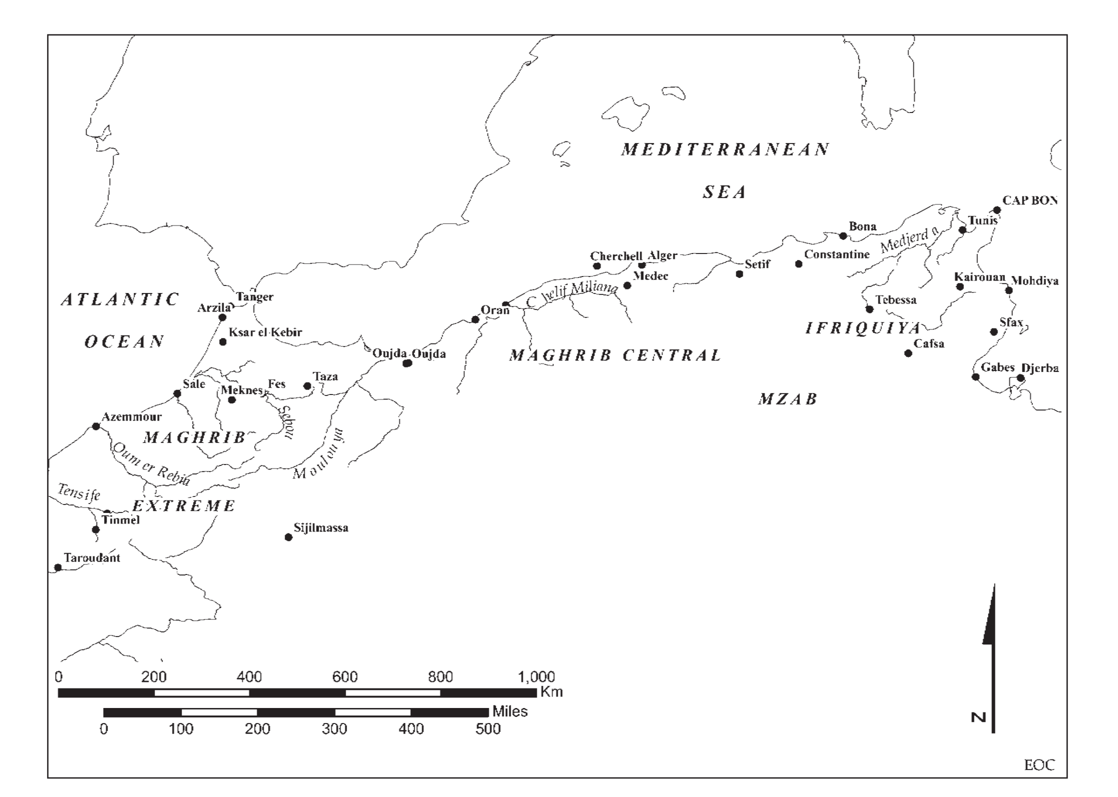
The Almoravid Empire 1100, showing commercial trade routes from the 10th–14th centuries. Adapted from Charles-André Julien (1970): 78.



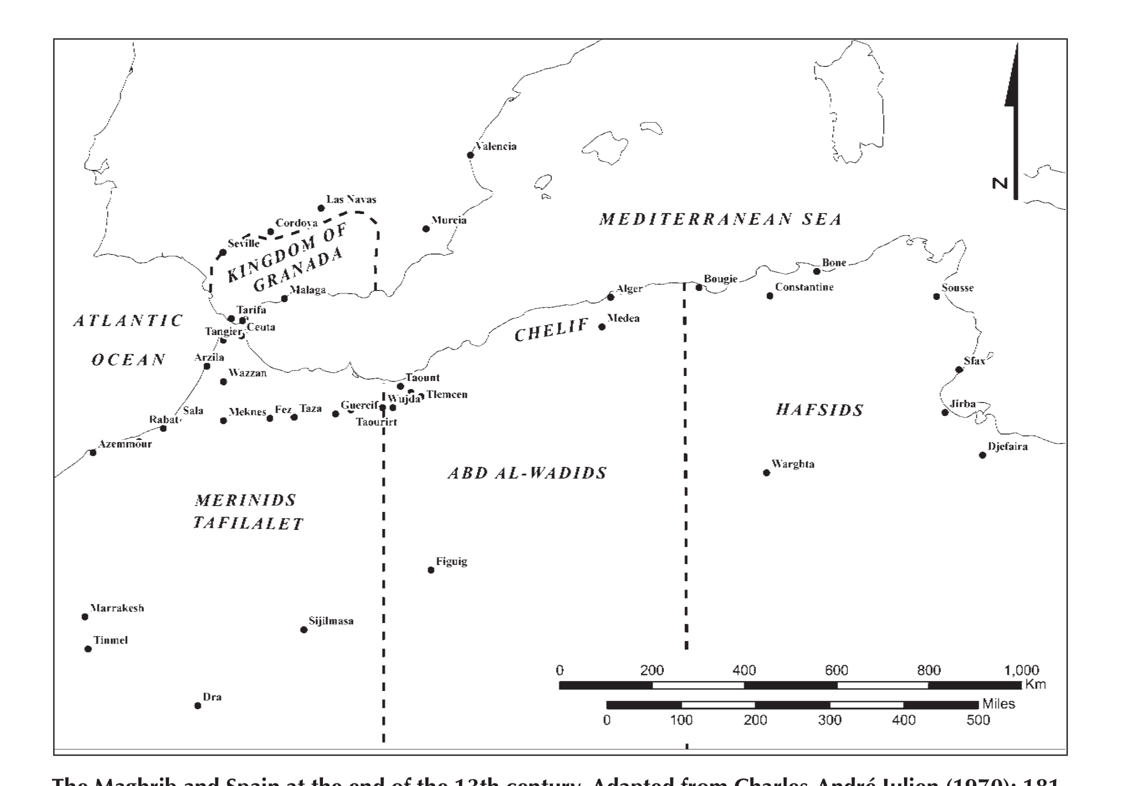
The Almoravid and Almohad empires. Adapted from J. Abun-Nasr (1987): 3.



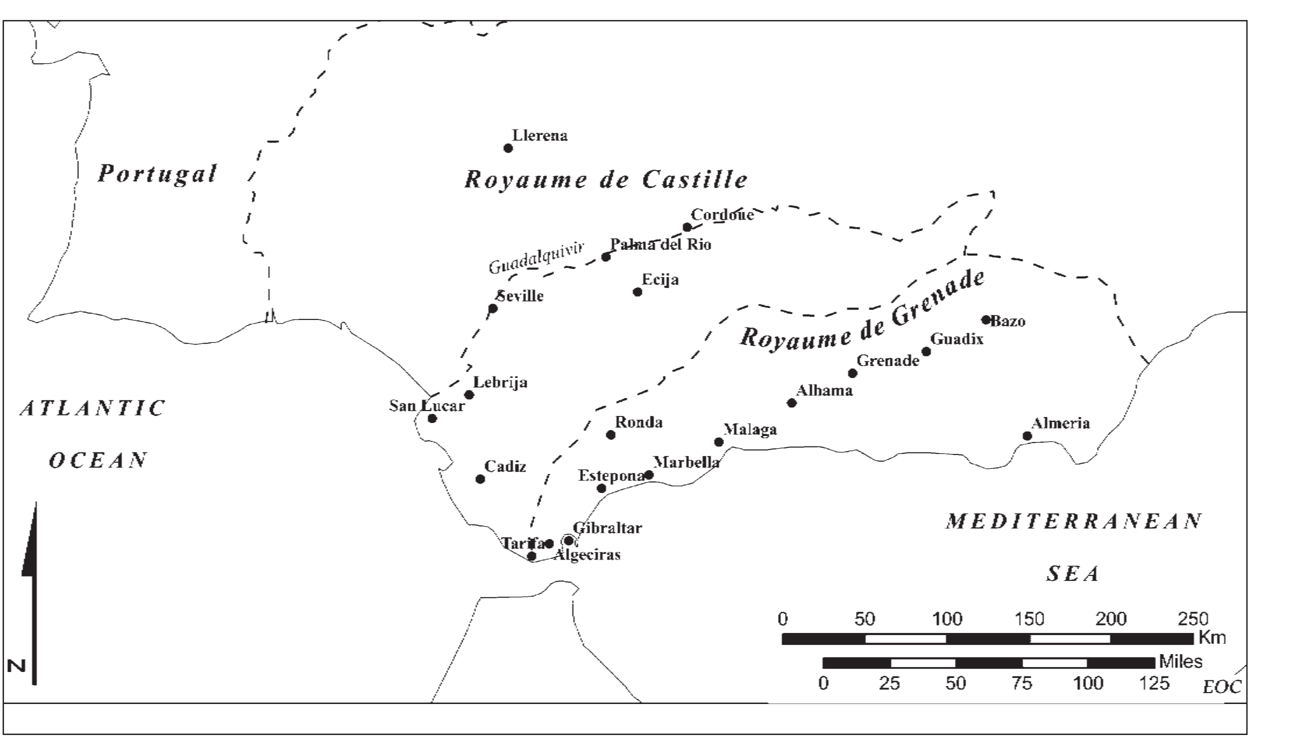
The Almoravid expansion in Spain. Adapted from H. Terrasse (1950): 247.



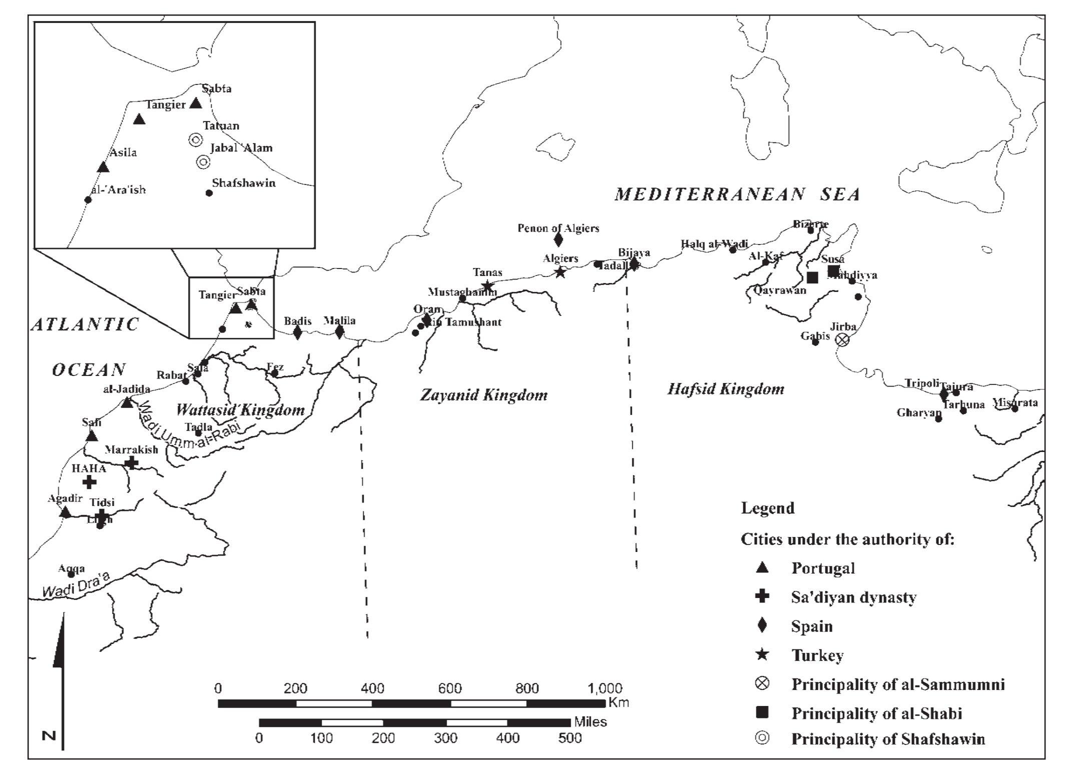
The Almohad Empire. Adpated from H. Terrasse (1950): 307.



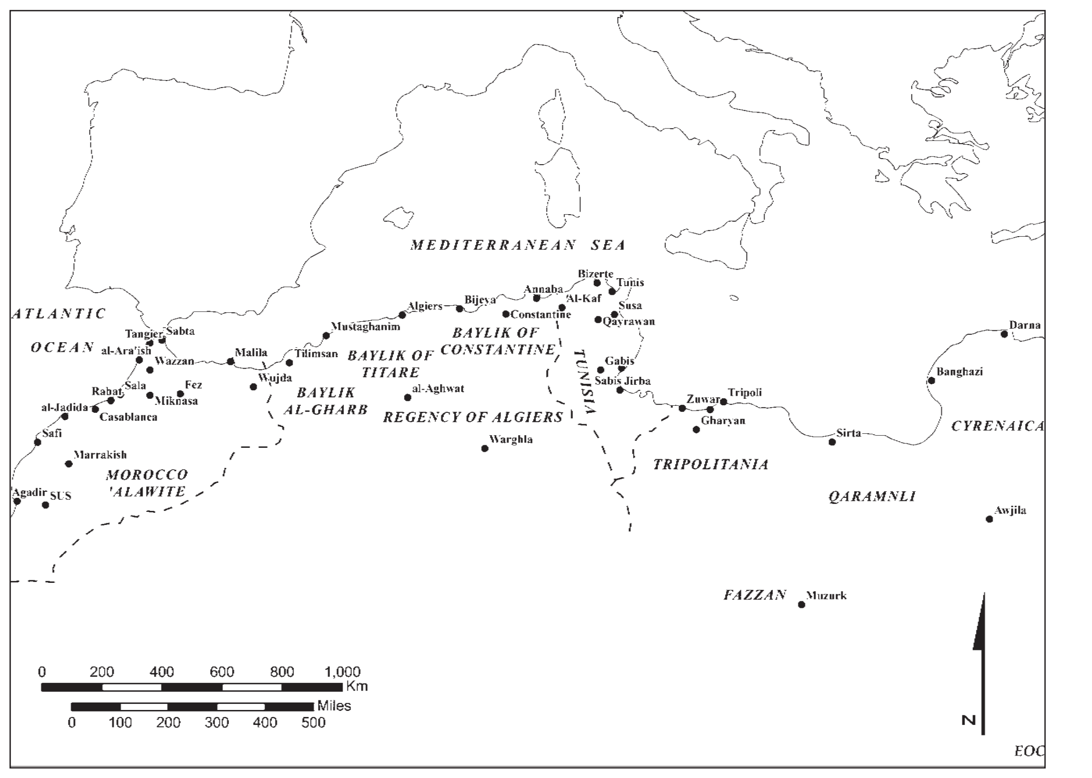
The Maghrib and Spain at the end of the 13th century. Adapted from Charles-André Julien (1970): 181.



The Marinid expansion in Spain. Adapted from H. Terrasse (1950): 35.



Political centers of the Maghrib in 1529. Adapted from J. Abun-Nasr (1987): 145.



The Maghrib ca. 1750. Adapted from J. Abun-Nasr (1987): 152.

Appendix C:
Berber Alphabet

ⵉⵙⴽⴽⵉⵍ ⵏ ⵜⴼⵉ ⵏⴰⵄ

Alphabet *Tifinaghe*-Ircam

(tableau officiel de l'alphabet *tifinaghe* tel qu'il est réalisé par le Centre d'Aménagement Linguistique (CAL) et consacré par l'IRCAM)

	TIFINAGHE	Correspondance latine	Correspondance arabe
1	ⴱ	b	ب
2	ⵎ	m	م
3	ⴼ	f	ف
4	ⵜ	t	ت
5	ⴷ	d	د
6	ⵟ	ṭ	ط
7	ⴹ	ḍ	ض
8	ⵙ	s	س
9	ⵣ	z	ز
10	ⵚ	ṣ	ص
11	ⵥ	ẓ	ژ
12	ⵏ	n	ن
13	ⵍ	l	ل
14	ⵔ	r	ر
15	ⵕ	ṛ	ڔ
16	ⵛ	c	ش
17	ⵊ	j	ج
18	ⴽ	k	ك
19	ⴽⵯ	k°	كٌ
20	ⴳ	g	گ
21	ⴳⵯ	g°	گٌ
22	ⵅ	x	خ
23	ⵇ	q	ق
24	ⵖ	γ	غ
25	ⵃ	ḥ	ح
26	ⵄ	ε	ع
27	ⵀ	h	هـ
28	ⵢ	y	ي
29	ⵡ	w	ۋ
30	ⴰ	a	ا
31	ⵉ	i	ي
32	ⵓ	u	و
33	ⴻ	e	

Bibliography

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

Although the Berbers constitute no independent state to write or encourage the study of Berber history and society and despite the fact that their history has always been written by the victors, there is an extensive set of works on the Berbers in Western and Middle Eastern languages. Most of these works, however, are in Arabic, French, and Spanish. This bibliography of key reference works is divided into a number of sections. To conserve space, I have attempted to minimize duplications even when a reference clearly would fit into more than one section, area, or historical period. Therefore, readers will on occasion consult more than one section or area to locate relevant references for a given theme.

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V. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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X. WEBSITES

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Aurès People and Region: www.chawinet.com
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World Amazigh Action Coalition, Canada: www.waac.info

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